Gitlow, the Informer *by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS
October 10, 1939

Hitler Loses the Baltic
by Alter Brody

Associated Farmers: Sowers of Fascism
by Helen Hosmer

Save the Bill of Rights!
An Editorial

GROPPER, RICHTER, GARDNER REA, REINHARDT, HELIKER

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Between Ourselves

CORLISS LAMONT writes us: "The supreme tests, whether of individuals, organizations or periodicals comes during a supreme crisis. I want to tell you what a clear, splendid and convincing job I think NM has done in the last four issues (those published since the outbreak of the European war), especially in explaining the role and the position of the Soviet Union. It is the best job of reporting and comment that I have seen anywhere."

This comment by the National Chairman of the Friends of the Soviet Union, an organization whose membership follows closely the history and development of the USSR, gives us a warm feeling. The satisfaction of having done a good job for our readers during a period when all other weeklies and monthlies were barking up the wrong tree is not lessened by swift moving history confirming our facts and opinions of a month or two ago.

Cables and special correspondence in this crisis have put us to considerable expense, however, and a local financial crisis has arisen within our own office.

We need your help, gentle and steadfast reader, to carry on and take advantage of our gains.

With your permission, may we then cede this forum to our business department which has a message, already addressed to many of you by mail, that we hope you will heed:

"This is a WAR emergency appeal to you from NM. The ideas and program that NM has advanced for three decades are today threatened with a blackout. The catastrophe of an America without NM can be averted only by your immediate assistance. The imperialist war, the peace role of the Soviet Union and the deliberate confusion being spread by 99 percent of the press and radio have produced an insistent hunger for the truth that has sky-rocketed the circulation of NM. The result has been that our newsstand *sales have more than doubled.* With this heartening circulation increase, however, have come a host of new financial problems. To meet our enlarged print-order we have been compelled to double our purchase of paper stock *at war prices.* Our cable tolls on war dispatches from NM correspondents in London and Paris have mounted to a considerable total. Our printer's bill is practically twice what it was.

"In short, the price of NM's efforts to pierce the press and radio fog of distortion and untruth has been the addition of a heavy financial burden to our normal operating budget. Our responsibility to our readers permitted of no other alternative. We who edit and produce NM each week have only one place to turn to in this financial crisis, and that is to you, our reader-stockholder, our stanchest friend and bulwark. *In the next ten days, NM needs the minimum and imperative sum of $7,000.*

"Your own reaction to NM's role in the crisis will determine the extent to which you will assume personal responsibility for its continued existence. You are being asked to dig down deep in a moment of profound world crisis and invest in gilt-edged truth bonds. You are now being asked to save NM and the ideas it so effectively champions, with a contribution of from $1,000 to $1. Give every dollar you can spare—most important, race it to us without a moment's delay! *The continued publication of NM depends on you!* Help the fight to keep America out of the imperialist war by doing your share without delay—*now!*"

Joseph Starobin

A thorough student of foreign affairs, he has become an NM mainstay with his contributions of recent months. Mr. Starobin has been editor of the "Young Communist Review" and one of the pioneers in the student liberal movement. He was a founding member of the National Student League in 1931; and was expelled from the City College of New York in 1933 as an undesirable element. Later on, the Board of Higher Education routed the real undesirable element at CCNY by retiring Pres. Frederick B. Robinson, author of the expulsions. Mr. Starobin went on to a degree at NYU, in chemistry, and after his graduation worked professionally for several years as an organic chemist.

Who's Who

HELEN HOSMER, whose detailed study of "Sowers of Fascism" starts in this issue, is Secretary of the Simon J. Lubin Society and editor of the California "Rural Observer." An indefatigable champion of western agricultural workers, she has compiled a mountain of facts about factories in the field. Through the Simon J. Lubin Society, John Steinbeck became interested in the plight of the migrant workers. They published his first pamphlet on the subject. . . . Alter Brody, whom we introduced a few weeks ago, is a specialist on Eastern European history, among other things. . . . Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, whose "Informer" should clear some of the Dies smokescreen, was very active in labor defense work for decades before she became affiliated with the Communist Party. She is a member of its National Committee. . . . Philippe Deval, who sends us the low-down on events leading up to the suppression of the Communist Party of France, is a French newspaperman. . . . Major Allen Johnson is a former officer of the 15th International Brigade in Spain.

Flashbacks

REALISTIC reminder to those liberals now running for cover at the spectacle of expanding Socialism: On Oct. 10, 1917, at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, it was decided the moment had come to rise up against the bourgeois Kerensky government. P.S.: The late Messrs. Kamenev and Zinoviev voted against the decision, and one Trotsky tried to amend it out of existence. . . . Suggestion to any American writer who feels an urge to ask his audience to die for good old Daladier or grand old Chamberlain: Read what the English man of letters, John Morley, wrote to Mrs. Andrew Carnegie on Oct. 14, 1914: "Be sure that the *responsibility* for all the criminal folly and wickedness (of the World War) is a divided responsibility, resting on more than one personality or European power." . . . Memo to Congressman Voorhis who would silence and suppress the Communists "democratically": On Oct. 15, 1920, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in this our democracy upheld convictions against ninety-eight Chicago IWW's who objected to America's entry into the last imperialist war. . . . "Democratic," "legal" suppression of other progressives was made official Oct. 9, 1886, likewise in Chicago. On that day Spier, Parsons and other labor leaders were sentenced to death on framed charges for the Haymarket bomb explosion.

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NEW MASSES

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Hitler Loses the Baltic

A basic discussion of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union as a political state and as stronghold of world Socialism.

THERE are two polar facts about the Soviet Union which, if kept constantly in mind, will enable any honest progressive to keep his balance, whenever, as Lenin said of an earlier critical period, "the locomotive of history takes a sharp turn."

When the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 overthrew the capitalist-feudal state known as the Russian Empire, the Russia of the past ceased to exist and two political entities took its place. The first entity was the Soviet Union as a political state, a United States of Socialism but a limited, localized politico-geographic body nevertheless, with frontiers and neighbors, with geographic, ethnic and economic problems that did not begin with November 1917 and therefore did not end with that date; a political state with all the vital organs through which a political state functions—an army and navy, a budget and taxes, a diplomatic corps with ambassadors, consulates, treaties and banquets and all usages of diplomacy. The second political entity that came into being in November 1917 was the Soviet Union as the stronghold of world Socialism, the first permanent position that international Socialism had won in its seventy-year struggle with international capitalism, and for the last twenty years its most important single asset in that struggle that will go on uninterruptedly until Socialism is achieved throughout the world.

TWO ENTITIES

These two political entities are separate but not opposite. On the contrary. One is a fulcrum to the lever of the other, and alternately one becomes the fulcrum and the other the lever. The fact that world Socialism—which before the Bolshevik Revolution was an international political Opposition with a program that was necessarily merely an abstract ideal—was able to materialize and localize itself in the form of a political state as large, as populous, as polynational as the continent of North America, was a tremendous impetus to world Socialism which had received such a mortal wound from the treachery of the Second International during the first imperialist war. The fact that Socialism was being built "in one country" (though that one country was larger and more populous than all of capitalist-democratic Europe) was a course in applied Socialism demonstrated to the world on a blackboard of eight and a half million square miles. The Soviet Union as a political state was able to give diplomatic aid to the popular front movements to stop fascism by trying to organize an international diplomatic bloc against fascist aggression.

THE POPULAR FRONTS

When Leon Blum of the French Socialist Party and leaders of the British Labor Party crippled the French Popular Front by betraying the Loyalist government of Spain, the Soviet Union as a political state was able to keep heroic Spain alive for nearly three years by supplying it with the arms and ammunition to which it was legally entitled but which every other government denied it. Finally when the peace efforts of the Soviet Union and the popular fronts failed of their purpose and the Soviet Union was confronted by a Chamberlain-Daladier plot of a London-Paris-Berlin threat to crush the Soviet Union and impose a capitalist-fascist hegemony over the entire planet—the Soviet Union by its brilliant diplomatic offensive split the London-Berlin axis and saved both its own political existence and the future of Socialism.

Socialism, on the other hand has been as valuable to the Soviet Union as a state as the Soviet Union has been to world Socialism. In the infancy of the Soviet Union, when the rival German and Anglo-French imperialisms collaborated in efforts to crush the first Socialist republic the class-conscious workers of Germany, Britain and France went on strike to prevent the shipment of arms and munitions to the Polish tools of Anglo-French-German imperialism. Socialism united the hundred different nationalities of the Soviet Union into a close-knit Socialist fatherland, a feat that czarist Russia was unable to accomplish. Socialism built up Soviet industry at a tempo that capitalism has never equaled. There have been many estimates of the war potential of the Soviet Union but no estimate is complete unless one adds to the physical might of the Red Army the imponderable offensive power of Socialism. The occupation of eastern Poland has shown the effectiveness of this ideological arm of the Red Army.

GOOD FOR SOCIALISM

It follows logically from this thesis, verifiable by every fact of Soviet history, that anything which is of benefit or harm to the Soviet Union is *ipso facto* of benefit or harm to world Socialism whose most lucrative investment is the Soviet Union. Conversely, anything which is of benefit or harm to world Socialism is of benefit or harm to the Soviet Union, the heaviest shareholder in world Socialism, Unlimited. Nevertheless the exigencies of geography—which anyone who calls himself a Marxist will be the last to ignore—will serve for a long time to keep these two political entities from being synonymous.

With this in mind let us examine Soviet foreign policy in the Soviet-Estonian Mutual Assistance Pact which is in effect the declaration of a Soviet Monroe Doctrine in the Baltic.

By the force of the same economic compulsions that drove the thirteen colonies across the Appalachians until they reached the Pacific seaboard, the expansion of the Russian tribes that peopled the interior of the vast Russian plain inevitably reached the shores of the Baltic. In 1703 Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg on an arm of the Baltic and emphasized the economic importance of the Baltic to Russia by making this exposed corner of his empire his capital. In the course of a century Russian expansion absorbed the entire eastern half of the Baltic littoral including what is now Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The assimilation of the various nationalities that peopled this region, as might normally be expected from the history of other great European nations—all of which are highly synthetic—was not successful. As a result, after two centuries of czarist rule, the subjugated nations of Baltic Russia clung to their nationality and the capital, and most important seaport, of the Russian Empire found itself located in the heart of a non-Russian area.

This insoluble Baltic problem of czarist Russia was solved by the Bolshevik Revolution as it solved similar problems in the Caucasus, in Central Asia and in every other corner of the polyglot Russian Empire. The Russian Empire became the Socialist fatherland which united the workers and peasants of every nation from Finland to Armenia, from Byelo Russia to Buriat Mongolia in ties that were sealed with heroic blood. The Soviet Union recognized the independence of every one of the Baltic nations and every one of them freely confederated with the Soviet Union.

How these Soviet Republics of Finland, Latvia and Estonia were torn away from their Socialist fatherland by the intervention of a London-Berlin axis that operated even in the heart of the first imperialist war, is confessed by no less a mouthpiece of British imperialism

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than the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Here is how Latvia won its "independence":

The opportunity (for independence) came with the World War. Lettish units were formed in the Russian Army and fought gallantly, but later turned against the independence of their country, largely as a result of Bolshevik propaganda. It was left to the Baltic Landwehr (a territorial force of pro-German leaning and under the command of Colonel Alexander, a British officer) to restore order. Riga was liberated on May 22, 1918, and Red rule came to an end after four and a half months.

Here is how Estonia won its "independence," according to the same source:

The Baltic (German) nobility of Estonia declared themselves the authorized representatives of the country and on December 12, 1917, invoked the aid of German troops. . . . Assistance came in the form of a loan of twenty million Finnish marks and a body of over two thousand volunteers from Finland. . . . On December 12, 1918, a British fleet under Admiral Sinclair arrived at Revel (Talinn) which brought a supply of arms and took the Gulf of Finland under its protection. . . . On January 4, 1919, when the Bolsheviks held half of Estonia in their grasp, their offensive was broken and the whole country was freed.

Here is how Finland won its "independence" from Socialism:

The Finnish Social-Democrats (majority party in both branches of the Diet), almost all Maximalists (Bolsheviks), pinned their faith on their Muscovite connections. . . . A hurriedly organized White army under Baron Mannerheim proved insufficient to maintain order. Sweden refused to help but Germany did not hesitate. They sent a division initially 12,000 strong under General Rudiger. The German victory over the Reds contributed to Mannerheim's decisive victory at Viborg, April 28, 1918, and by June 27, 1918, 73,915 Red rebels including 4,600 women were prisoners of war. But the cruelty of the Red insurrectionists led to a White counter-terror. Some 15,000 men, women and children were slaughtered.

Keeping in mind that the total population of these Baltic states was less than that of New York City and that the figures of the slaughtered prisoners were grossly understated in the *Britannica* it can be seen that Hitler, Mussolini and Franco were milksops beside their Baltic fellow butchers.

WHOLESALE BUTCHERY

The "independence" of Finland, Latvia and Estonia from their 1917 Socialist fatherland was achieved by the simple process of literally exterminating the local working class. The population graph of these countries still shows the effect of this massacre.

The struggling Soviet Union, partly out of rigid devotion to its own principle of self-determination—partly as a tactic to split off the White Guard nationalists of the border states from the White Guard Russian imperialists—recognized the White dictatorships that were established on the ruins of the Baltic Soviet republics. But the special economic position of the Soviet Union in these Baltic countries, which contained all of Russia's ice-free ports on the Baltic, in addition to dominating its remaining icebound seaport, was conceded even then by the White Guard governments of Estonia and Latvia. By the Treaty of Dorpat, February 1920, "free transit to Estonian ports was conceded to Russia." Latvian commercial treaties contain the so-called Baltic clause "conceding Finland, Estonia, Lithuania and Russia, privileges over and above the most favored nation principle." Thus the principle of the Soviet Union's special economic rights in the Baltic states that had been torn from Russia was as long established as the former Polish Republic's rights in Danzig—with this difference, that it was a concession willingly granted by these governments for their own economic advantage.

So long as the postwar *status quo* was maintained in the Baltic, the Soviet Union accepted the precarious position of its chief sea outlet and military key to all of northern Russia. The Soviet Union knew that the east Baltic countries were economic colonies of British imperialism—its creatures and its tools. But it was reassured by the distance that separated British imperialism from its dangerous tools. With the rearming of Germany under the Nazis, a rearming fostered by Britain for its purposes, the situation in the Baltic was radically altered so far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

THE BALTIC THREAT

The Soviet Union became suddenly alive to the fact that not only its chief sea outlet but the entire Soviet north, which was connected to Leningrad by the great Baltic-White Sea Canal, was at the mercy of any great power that controlled the Baltic states. And there was no doubt about which great power was the preference of these states. The Baltic states themselves made it brazenly clear. As recently as last summer during the negotiations for a proposed Anglo-French-Soviet alliance to halt Nazi aggression, the New York *Times* was full of the frank iterations of the governments of Finland, Latvia and Estonia about preferring Nazi Germany to Communist Russia in a crisis, just as the Polish landowners went down in history as preferring Nazi conquest to permitting the Red Army to pass through their Ukrainian and Byelo Russian estates. The sudden desire of Finland to fortify the Aland Islands dominating the northern Baltic was a concrete instance of this preference which the Soviet Union could not ignore. It was the Soviet insistence during the Anglo-French-Soviet military negotiations on measures to insure against Nazi control of the strategic Baltic states, and the refusal of the Anglo-British imperialists to accede to this, which helped to convince Soviet diplomacy that Chamberlain's anti-Nazi protestations were not genuine and that his real purpose was still the organization of a four-power pact against the Soviet Union.

Though the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact temporarily halted this attempt to cement a London-Berlin axis, the position of the Soviet Union in the Baltic remained precarious. Despite all the lies about a Soviet-German alliance, it was just as much exposed as before to the danger of a Nazi or an Anglo-Nazi thrust at Leningrad that could cut the Soviet Union in half. The connivance of the Estonian Government in releasing an interned Polish submarine which resulted in the sinking of a Soviet ship and threatened to block all Soviet shipping in the narrow Gulf of Finland, gave the Soviet Union an inkling of what might happen on a grander scale if the USSR were involved in a war. The Soviet Union then and there decided that it was time to stabilize the Baltic situation by declaring what amounts to a Monroe Doctrine over its side of the Baltic. This, of course, necessitated the same kind of military and naval implementation without which the American Monroe Doctrine would be a scrap of paper. Just as the United States leased Guantanamo Bay from the sovereign state of Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone from the sovereign state of Panama as military and naval bases to implement the Monroe Doctrine, which gives all the Americas the luxury of security in these perilous days, so the Soviet Union asked and secured the right from Estonia to lease several strategic islands dominating both the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Riga and erect the necessary fortifications on them. With this difference: the action of Socialist USSR has nothing in common with the imperialist exploitation which American business interests have practiced behind the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine. In addition, the Soviet-Estonian Mutual Assistance Pact broadened the already existing "free transit" clause of the 1920 Treaty of Dorpat by granting the Soviet Union the right to build a naval base alongside the ice-free port of Baltiski.

This equitable adjustment of an explosive situation between the greatest power in Europe and a tiny state carved by foreign intervention from its territory, was received with undisguised relief by the reactionary Baltic governments whose guilty consciences had every reason to expect a more drastic solution. The leading Estonian newspaper admitted that "Estonia's position was not disquieting. The present treaties respect the sovereign rights of Estonia and it is expected that both Estonia and the USSR will carry them out." "The commercial treaty," the Estonian President declared, "opens up the possibility for Estonia to develop its export trade with the west via the Soviet Arctic port of Murmansk." This, in view of the fact that the Atlantic exits of the Baltic are at Germany's mercy, is an important consideration for a Baltic country.

The people of Finland and Latvia are also relieved. For the fortification of these islands and the declaration of a Soviet Monroe Doctrine in the Northern Baltic, will prevent their reactionary governments from dragging them into war as pawns of the Nazi or Anglo-Nazi machinations against the Soviet Union.

ALTER BRODY.

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WAR BULLETIN: NUMBER FIVE

What Price the British Navy?

With Germany's air bases untouched the menace of air attack on Britain's first line of defense grows. The unsolved problem of modern war.

EVENTS of the past week have injected into the present war in Europe some interesting considerations. Since the destruction of the Spanish Armada the British Navy has been the basis of Britain's imperialist power. This power received its confirmation when Nelson destroyed the French fleet at Trafalgar. It was finally endorsed by the action of the fleet against the German Imperial Navy in the various naval actions of the World War. This complete naval supremacy has permitted the British to buy and utilize continental armies to do her land fighting and has allowed the British to rest confidently behind the barriers of the natural moat in the English Channel.

The introduction of aerial warfare has raised many doubts in the minds of military commentators. The question arises: is an armored, slow-moving fleet capable of defense against aerial bombardment? The present ratio of strength of the respective naval fleets would give Britain about an eight-to-one superiority over the German fleet except in the matter of submarines, where the Germans undoubtedly have a slight advantage. The British and French fleets together would have about a twelve-to-one superiority and also a numerical superiority in submersibles. On the other hand, Germany has roughly a three-to-one superiority in aircraft over Britain, and even when the combined British-French air forces are considered together the ratio is probably British-French 2: German 3.

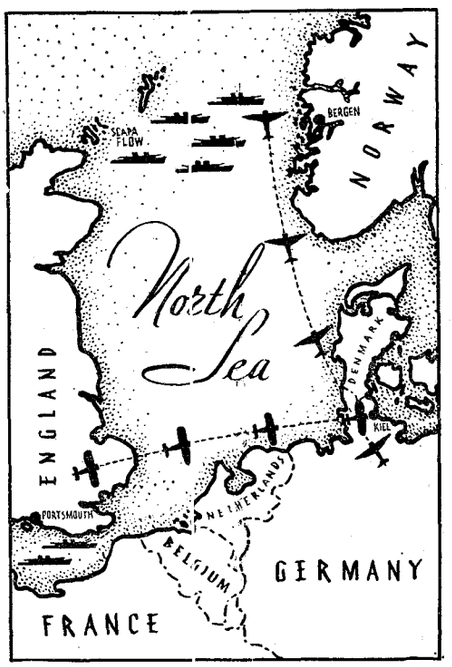
Consideration of these figures would indicate that the British should have undisputed control of the sea, while the Germans should have control of the air. Neither of these facts is true when stated mechanically. The submarine has introduced another dimension into naval warfare, and it is not possible for the British completely to control the activities of enemy submersibles; the World War proved this and recent events have only substantiated it. On the other hand, no air force, however preponderant, can completely control the airways until it has destroyed the bases and flying fields of its opponent; the first German air activity in Poland was the wrecking of landing fields. So far aerial warfare has been extremely limited on the western sector of the European conflict. When it is introduced in full force there it will attempt to do just this: wreck the enemy's ground establishments in as quick a time as possible.

If the Germans can control the air and can therefore with impunity attack British naval vessels concentrated at Scapa Flow and at their other North Sea battle stations the question of naval *versus* air warfare will be decided. Meanwhile some conclusions can be drawn from recent history. During the Spanish war the German warship *Deutschland* was bombed while it operated against the Loyalist coast; this bombing did not cause vital damage but was sufficient to put the battleship out of commission for some time while it underwent extensive repairs. The British reported that in their raids upon Kiel two warships were seriously damaged and that anti-aircraft fire was not able to prevent the mission's being accomplished—and this fire was from stationary land batteries as well as from the ships in port. Now come the reports of the German aerial attacks against the British fleet on two occasions.

The first report claimed that an aircraft carrier, the *Ark Royal,* was destroyed and another battleship badly damaged; Scandinavian reports state that a battleship was seen limping southward in a damaged condition. Some credence can therefore be given to the German report. The second statement indicated that a cruiser had been damaged by aerial attack. The British Admiralty denials have been too readily accepted in the American press, and that is natural. The British would not admit the damage, even if it had occurred, until it had leaked out and had already become general knowledge; they would keep it concealed, if for no other reason, for fear of loss of naval prestige. Also, if the fact became known that the fleet was not invulnerable it would have very serious effects upon the morale of the peoples of Britain and France.

In any case, even if a naval force such as that of the British is not invulnerable against aerial attack, there is no reason to assume immediately that such aerial attack will at once eliminate naval warfare and break the British. It will, however, add one more ingredient to a mess that holds within it a number of added surprises for the mentally atrophied strategists of the British Empire. What new balances of strength the supremacy of aerial warfare may make if proven feasible no one can estimate at the present. But it is clear that a new threat to Britain's world dominion has arisen. She may be able with France's aid to defeat economically weak Germany, but will her victory contain the acid of self-destruction? Perhaps these new tactical developments hold the answer.

MAJOR ALLEN JOHNSON.



McGill

SHIPS OR PLANES? *Can Germany's superior air force break Britain's blockade in the Channel and North Sea? Already British bombers have struck at the Nazi sea base at Kiel and German planes are credited with sinking one fighting ship and disabling another off Bergen. The big naval bases of Portsmouth and Scapa Flow, Nazi targets if their bombers really pit themselves against the British fleet, are no great distance from German airports. Such Nazi strategy would of course be carried on together with an intensification of the submarine offensive that has cost the British several merchant ships and, more significantly, the Royal Navy's aircraft carrier "Courageous," sunk off the coast of Ireland.*

Japanese War Plan

THIS summer a book appeared in Japan entitled *War between Japan and America Imminent* by Gen. Kiyokatsu Sato, retired, a well known military commentator. He says that Japan "must first seize Hawaii and then undertake destruction of the Panama Canal and America's main fleet. Japan could then land her forces on the western coast of the continent and destroy the cities and naval bases." The next step would be the "formation of a main line of defense along the Rocky Mountains so Japanese troops could be massed in the occupied areas along the coast. After preparations west of the Rocky Mountains, Japanese troops would advance toward the East Coast." Add another gentleman disappointed by the Soviet move of splitting up the axis. General Sato's plan will have to be tabled now that Japan has been isolated by the non-aggression pact between the Soviets and Germany.

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William Gropper

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A N E D I T O R I A L A R T I C L E

Save the Bill of Rights

The warmakers are out to destroy democracy. That always begins by denying democracy to the Communists. What is to be done.

"THE burdens of an imperialist war," writes the Chicago *Defender* in its issue of September 30, "fall on the people everywhere." This newspaper, one of the biggest Negro journals in the world, signals its readers that "Black America must prepare to defend its already weakened standard of living."

That editorial might well keynote the opinion prevailing in the widest strata of the American populace. It talks for the man on the street. "Here there are no falling bombs or bursting shells," the editor continues, "but there is a war against the people only a little less deadly." What that writer says so trenchantly is sensed by millions throughout America. The fierce winds of intolerance have begun to blow. Our rights are threatened, the folk feel, our standard of living is assailed. And each category of our populace, worried by the assault of reaction here, takes stock and hurriedly considers a program for defense. For the offensive of Big Business is on. The warmakers, hot on the trail of billions in profit, are charting their strategy, and losing no time in sweeping into action.

Len de Caux, editor of the *CIO News,* writes in the September 22 issue: "The war-planners have sought to dispose of labor without reckoning with labor as an organized force with ideas and plans of its own." Railway workingmen in this country see the semaphore of fascism. Their organ, *Labor,* on October 3, headlines a special correspondence: "Brass Hats to Direct Industry in Event of War, Employers Told." The story recounts the speech of William Daley, secretary of the American Publishers Conference, who forecast that if this country should become involved in Europe's war, "labor will be drafted the same as soldiers."

Sidney Hillman, vice president of the CIO, addressing the hosiery workers' convention, declared that reactionary industrialists will try to knife the Wagner act and the wage-hour law in the name of "emergency." The signs and portents abound. It is well that labor is alarmed: its standards go first. That is why the Negro newspaper Chicago *Defender* reacted so keenly; most of America's thirteen million Negroes earn their daily bread in industry and on the farm.

But not only labor is agitated. Middle class groupings in America understand, if unclearly as yet, that when labor's rights go, no civil liberty in the country is safe. The Committee of Sixty-seven warned America upon the anniversary of the Bill of Rights several weeks ago. That Bill is under attack today and the assault is growing more violent. Hence, the call to the National Conference on Civil Liberties in the Present Emergency in New York, October 13-14. The American Civil Liberties Union, officially sponsoring the meeting, has obtained the support to date of thirteen large organizations, such as the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches of the U. S. A., the American Newspaper Guild, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the International Labor Defense, and like groupings.

WHAT'S HAPPENING

What is happening in our land? This: the sentiment of America is preponderantly anti-war and there are sinister interests who want matters otherwise. These forces, powerful yet subtle, work to jockey the nation onto a pre-war footing as prelude to actual participation in war itself. The lively sham battle about the Neutrality Act is one of their devices: pro-war forces thunder on both sides of that engagement. But the main line of struggle for peace in America is a struggle against monopolists and profiteers. The moneyed men of America understand this clearly. Their strategy, therefore, is to divert the main line, to confuse, to shunt it into channels safe for them. The real struggle is for the better life, higher wages, shorter hours, all the safeguards of the New Deal, all its gains. The extension of civil rights is a principal task before the American people.

But the public enemies, the capitalists, and their collaborators of all categories, are abandoning, fast as they can, the defense of democracy, the defense of progressive social measures, of all that is lumped together under the general heading of the New Deal.

To pulverize the gains of the New Deal is no overnight task. Congressman Martin Dies has been working at that for over a year. Today, in common with his capitalist colleagues, he is utilizing the imperialist war to facilitate his job.

Now, how does one dissipate a progressive movement, stem the upsurge of a people, weaken it, shatter it? Let us glance at the pages of contemporary history. When Hitler burned the Reichstag he blamed it on the Communists. Outlawing the Communist Party, he went on down the line, smashing the Social-Democrats, smashing the liberal organizations, destroying the best in the land, torturing to death such talents as the famous poet, Erich Muhsam, hounding to the grave men like Carl von Ossietzky, the Nobel Prize winner, imprisoning men like Pastor Niemoeller, the outspoken Protestant leader. What happened to the Jews is one of today's greatest infamies. Even the powerful Catholic Church was assailed: Brownshirts stoned Cardinal Innitzer. The examples are too numerous for full listing. Thus was a nation subjugated by fascism.

First, the most advanced stratum of progressivism was attacked—the Communist Party. Other left and liberal parties that failed to press to its aid, that stood apart, that said "Not me," were attacked piecemeal, one by one, until all were illegalized. And now Daladier has learned the lesson from his mentor—Hitler. We predict that any groupings to left of center—and center—that dare voice objections to the conduct of the war in France, that point out that it is something less than an open and shut conflict against fascism, will feel the scourge next.

And so here at home. The real goal is to shatter the gains of the New Deal. Reaction cannot achieve that by head-on shock. So it deploys. Today, the attack is on the Communists, the van of all progressives. Why does Dies spend so much time and energy against that Party? Can he really believe that 100,000 persons in this nation of 130,000,000 are so "powerful" that they can "endanger" the stanchions of this nation?

His reason is clear for those who will reason. Earl Browder put it succinctly in a speech at Philadelphia, September 29:

> Why are they making preparations for the outlawing of our party? It is because not only are they thinking about getting America into the war, but they know that that course can only be put across on the American people if they destroy American democracy, and the destruction of democracy always begins by denying democracy to the Communists. That is a law of politics in the modern world.

For that reason it is all the more ominous that scarcely one voice is raised against the Dies committee from among America's liberals, America's leading legislators. Can they fail to see that silence is suicidal? These progressives, like their German contemporaries, may feel that by standing off, standing aside, letting the Communists "get it" they will be clear. So Social Democracy thought in the Reich: they landed in concentration camps. So liberals thought: they were blackjacked.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

The greatest menace today to democracy comes in the garb of "anti-Communism." Congressman Jerry Voorhis, of California, makes the tragic error. He agrees with his colleague, Mr. Dies, that the Communist

(Continued on page 23)

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A New Balance of Power

A year ago Chamberlain passed Hitler the control of Central and Southeastern Europe. Today from the Balkans to the Baltic the power of the USSR is felt.

WAR is a powerful catalyst. Within six weeks of its declaration, changes are taking place in the relations of classes and nations which neither German fascism, nor Anglo-French imperialism had expected. Two weeks after the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, the Red Army marched into Poland, liberating eleven million people not only from the dead hand of Nicholas Romanov, but also from the mailed fist of Adolf Hitler. This week the demarcation of final frontiers between the USSR and Germany as well as the mutual assistance pact with Estonia strikes another blow at the fascist solar plexus. Pulling no punches, yet making hardly a war-like move, the Soviet Union has sent all of its enemies staggering. Nothing like this has ever been seen before. And it is only the beginning.

With a realism which arch-reactionaries can afford, Winston Churchill spliced the strands of truth in his speech last Sunday.

"At the risk of being proved wrong," Churchill declared, "I will proclaim tonight my conviction that the second great fact of the first month of the war is that Hitler, and all that Hitler stands for, have been, and are being warned off the East and Southeast of Europe."

SOVIET GERMAN TRADE

Still if these are the realities in the international situation, they also embrace the problem of Soviet-German trade. Although the essential neutrality of the Soviet Union was emphasized by the fact that Britain is sending a trade delegation to Moscow this week, some people still hold desperately to the myth of decisive Russian economic support for Hitler. Soviet policy, of course, insists upon normal trade relations with all nations irrespective of their internal system. Molotov quite naturally expressed the wish that trade with Germany attain its previous levels. But most commentators are skeptical. John Elliott, in the New York *Herald Tribune* for October 1, quotes a French authority to prove that last year the Soviet Union exported only 2,000,000 tons of petroleum, while Germany's peacetime deficit reached over 30,000,000 tons, fifteen times as much. Last year, the Soviet Union exported only 1,300,000 tons of coal while Germany's deficit in coal was 150 times as much. Similar considerations apply to wheat, while in the essential metals, such as lead, nickel, molybdenum, and aluminum, the Soviet Union is itself an importer.

Apart from factors such as the difference in gauge between Soviet and German railways, German gold reserves are so low that cash payments are out of the question. As far as a simple exchange of German for Soviet goods is concerned, it should be remembered that before the war began Germany was handicapped in world markets by the inability of her exporters to deliver goods of quality on time because of shortages in materials brought about by intense rearmament. Basing ourselves on wholly conservative sources, credible not for their intentions but their realism, it is clear that even expanded Soviet supplies would not begin to meet the Nazi war hunger.

But Soviet diplomacy has directed a master stroke at both antagonists in the present war in still another sense. It was only less than a year ago, November 1, 1938 that Neville Chamberlain clarified British policy toward German expansion in the Balkans and Baltic states as follows: "Geographically, Germany must occupy the dominant position in relation to the states of Central and Southeastern Europe. I do not see any reason why we should expect to see a fundamental change—in these regions. Far from this country being concerned, we have no wish to block Germany out of these countries."

Taking Chamberlain's advice in advance, Hitler had already penetrated deeply into the Balkan countries. By 1937, Germany took 52 percent of Bulgarian exports and 63 percent of her imports. Hungary shipped 44 percent of her exports to the Reich, receiving 50 percent of her imports from the same source. Rumania was bound in a similar way: 33 percent of her exports and 52 percent of her imports depended on the Nazis. The figures for Yugoslavia are 42 percent of exports and 53 percent of imports. "Greece," said General Metaxas, "is not pro-German; it is a question of finding a market for her tobacco crop."

When the Little Entente, by which these nations were pledged to Czechoslovakia, was broken at Munich, all of them became even more passionately the objects of Nazi *"Lebensraum."*

Every Balkan and Baltic state observed with dismay that despite the solemn guarantees at Munich, France and England did not lift a finger to prevent Hitler's conquest of the bastion of Central Europe. Only seventy miles from the Rumanian border, Hitler exploited the panic in Bucharest, and on March 3 King Carol was compelled to accept a plan whereby German experts were to take over management of Rumanian production. Symbolic, also, of Germany's power was the forced cession of Memel from Lithuania on March 22.

When President Roosevelt proposed a ten, perhaps a twenty-five-year peace to Hitler in the middle of April, the Nazis utilized the moment to press non-aggression treaties in the Baltic states. Estonia and Latvia signed them on June 7.

During these same weeks, Finland suddenly demanded the right to fortify the Aland Islands, whose strategic position in the Baltic would enable enemies of the Soviet Union to cut off the considerable Red Banner fleet from the vulnerable Leningrad port in the gulf of Finland. Permission for the fortifications, under the Aland convention of 1921, had to be given by England, France, Germany, and Italy. These were the Munich partners! Only against such a background can we understand the significance of the Soviet Union's pact with Estonia. The leasing of the Dagoe and Oesel islands, and the projected construction of a new port alongside Baltiski, not only gives the Soviet Union an ice-free port on the Baltic but is a direct blow at the Nazis, and indirectly against Great Britain who long ago concluded secret agreements with these countries and built airdromes among them for the eventuality of an anti-Soviet war. The Soviet Union can now jeopardize the shipments of iron ore from eastern Sweden to the Nazis. The refortification of the Aland Islands has all but lost significance.

Similar considerations apply to Turkey, where despite the rankling memories of the disastrous cooperation with the Kaiser in 1914, economic necessity had compelled the Turks to bind themselves to Germany. The Dardanelles were of course of vital strategic importance for the Nazis in terms of a base against the Soviet Union, the gateway to the Near East, and the lifelines of the Anglo-French empires.

BRITISH MONEY

On the face of it, Great Britain and France took vigorous measures against this economic aggression, but always within the limits of the Chamberlain formulas. Credits of sixty million pounds were voted and guarantees against military aggression of the kind which Poland received were granted to Greece, Rumania, and Turkey. But after last March, even such commitments from Downing Street were taken with a grain of salt.

On top of it all, the Nazis deliberately accentuated the many national and historic antagonisms which beset the Balkans. The Nazis were behind the Macedonian gangsters who assassinated King Alexander of Yugoslavia in 1934, constantly irritating relations between that country and Bulgaria. In Transylvania, which Rumania received from Hungary by the treaty of Trianon, the Nazis also played both ends against the middle. Conflicts were manufactured in Bulgaria on the basis of the Dobrudja territorial claims from Rumania. Of course, the Nazi machinations

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in the Polish and Carpatho-Ukraine against Hungary, Poland, and the USSR are well known.

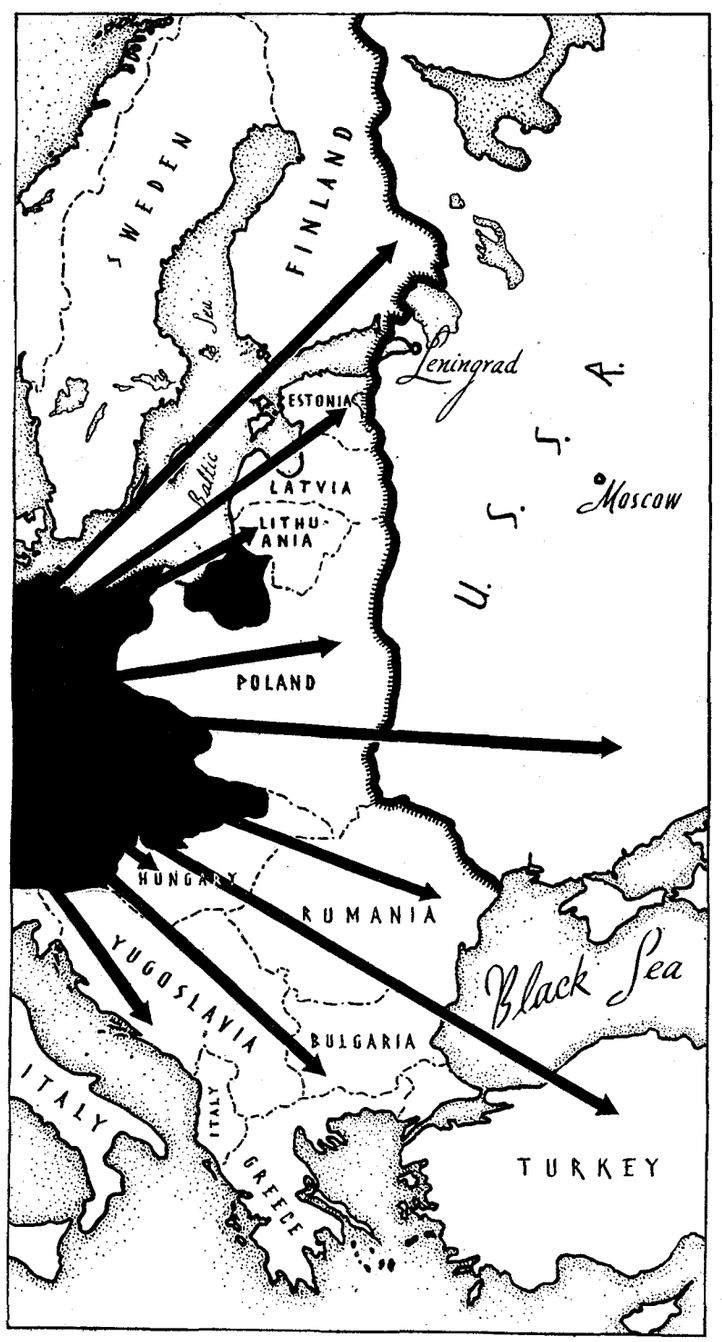
All this is now changing. The representatives of the Rumanian boyars, the Hungarian counts, the Bulgarian chiefs, the Yugoslav lords are making pilgrimage to Moscow. Gafencu, the Rumanian foreign minister is on his way. Saracoglu, of Turkey, has been spending over a week there in connection with the probable Black Sea compact. Even Kiossevanieff, Prime Minister of Bulgaria (received in style by Hitler during the summer) is reported on the wing. Yugoslavia, which has no relations with the USSR, is making overtures. Estonia and Latvia are recognizing wisdom as the better part of valor. Finland, whose pro-Soviet foreign minister, Holsti, was forced out of office a year ago is now thinking deeply. And Hungary, which only last February signed the late-lamented anti-comintern accord, appreciates the meaning of Red Army men on her borders.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

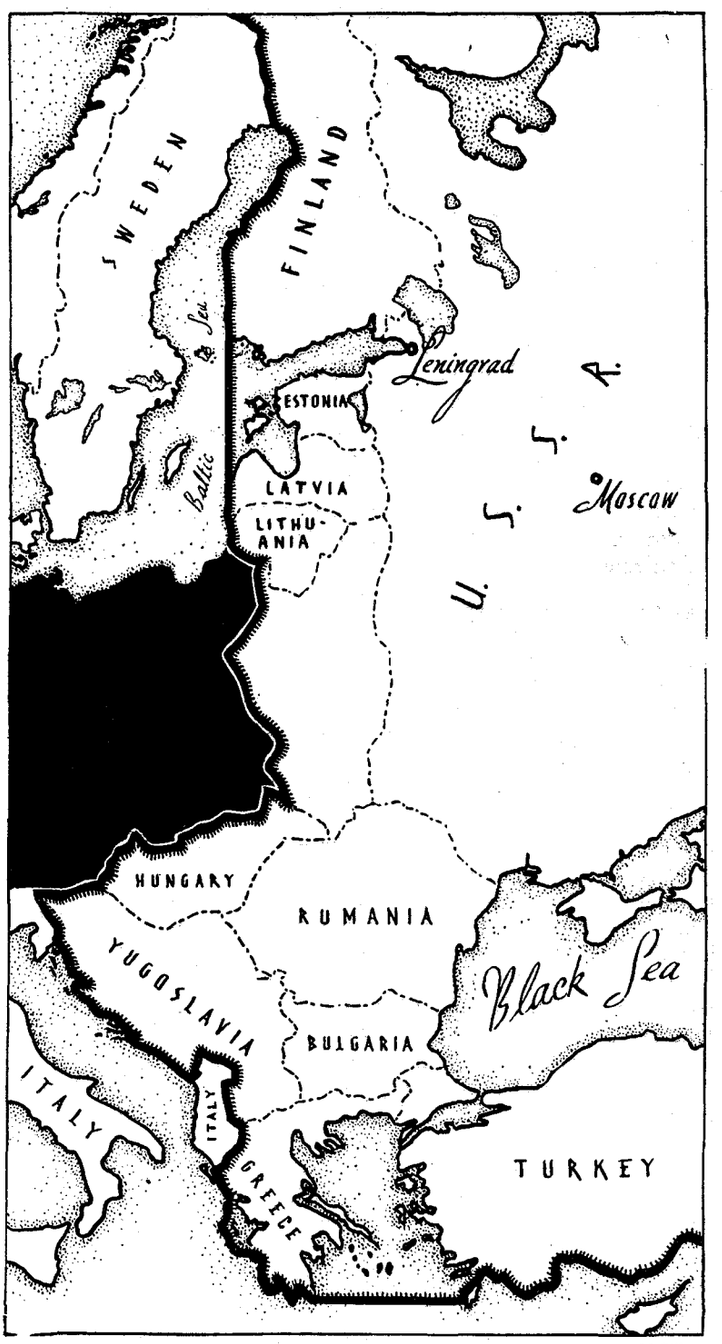
All this signifies neither imperialism nor world revolution. But it does mean, in the immediate sense, that the Germans (and Italy, too) have lost heavily in the Balkans and the Baltic. Indirectly, the policies of Great Britain have been dealt a body blow. Churchill may calculate that the Soviet Union is winning victories for the Allies in the East. But if they are victories for anyone, the ultimate victors will be the peoples of all these countries. For the changes in orientation, evolving from trends to facts, must be reflected in changes within these countries before long.

When the peasants in these countries appreciate the full significance of the division of Prince Radziwill's estate in Poland among the Ukrainian peasants, forces will have been generated that will shake the imperialist structure in all Europe, the Near East, and Asia. A new peace front is in formation, a front of peoples, whose word will be the last word, spoken in thunder.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.



SIX WEEKS AGO. *The eastward expansion of Nazi influence, aided by the Munichmen, had permeated the Balkans and the Baltic. Aimed through Poland at the USSR, the thrust was being prepared.*



McGill

TODAY. *Diplomatic activity on the part of the Soviet Union has repulsed the eastern drive of both Hitler and the Anglo-French imperialists into the Balkans and the Baltic.*

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Daladier Shows His Hand

With the suppression of the Communist Party of France, Daladier continues down the fascist road. Advertising the imperialist war. The final step.

THE government of Edouard Daladier did what no French government has ever dared do since the World War. It dissolved the French Communist Party.

After the Cabinet meeting on September 26, Albert Sarraut, Minister of the Interior in the Daladier Cabinet, announced to the press that he was going to present for the signature of Albert Lebrun, President of the Republic, a decree law calling for "the dissolution of the Communist Party and all organizations which stem from it, the suppression of all printing, distribution and sales of publications, leaflets, drawings and all other material carrying the program of the Third International or of organizations in contact with it, and prescribing the penalties which shall be administered for violations of the law." Published in the *Official Journal,* this monstrous decree by which Daladier wished to banish the Communists from the French nation was soon followed by police action. The central office of the Communist Party, located in the middle of Paris at No. 44 Rue Lafayette, which had been raided many times, was taken over by the police. Similar police raids were synchronized in all the cities and towns of France and at the homes of regional Communist functionaries at the very time when they were mobilized and defending their country on the Maginot Line.

BEGINNING OF SUPPRESSION

The drive to banish the French Communist Party began after the signature of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. It started with the suppression of *l'Humanite,* central organ of the party and one of the greatest newspapers of France. This newspaper, with a daily circulation of 450,000 copies and a Sunday circulation of 650,000, had the fourth largest circulation in France. Now it became one of the main preoccupations of a government more actively concerned with destroying the organizations of the working class than the pursuit of military operations on its eastern front. It realized well enough that the Communist Party represented a sure and proven force among the masses of the French people which would oppose the conclusion of a new-style Munich either in the form of a war of aggression against the Soviet Union or a new Versailles in case of a victory of Great Britain and France over a Germany freed from Hitler. Daladier with one of his lieutenants, Sarraut (author of the slogan: "Communism is the main enemy"), declared war against the healthiest section of the French people. This they would never have dared to do if the workers and peasants of France had not found themselves mobilized in the ranks of the army and under the restrictions of the Military Code. Now that the deed is done, of course, it does not follow that the French Communist Party has been summarily guillotined. Conscious of its historic responsibility, strong in its traditions, the Communist Party, although dissolved, will continue to play a decisive role in the development of events in France. If its passage into illegality is a blow, which it would be vain to underestimate, it remains evident that a party of 300,000 members at the political level of the French Communist Party is not going to disappear from the political arena after a simple reactionary ukase. Recruited from workers and farmers and from the advanced elements of the middle class, its mature forces and its policy of peace and social justice have never been caught unawares. Ever since Munich, which signalized French capitulation before foreign fascism and marked the start of a new era of internal reaction, the French Communists were prepared for the day they would have to fight under difficult conditions. The dissolution of the party thus confirms their judgment on the attitude of a government that has gone in for every foreign fascist plot and any domestic reactionary political policy that came along. The Communists saw each step.

FRENCH REACTION'S ENEMIES

This action of the Daladier government crowns a whole series of actions whose domestic and foreign policies advertised its present orientation. For this government of Munichmen the principal enemy is certainly not German fascism but the French Communist Party, against whom a full wartime campaign is now carried on. This dissolution decreed against the French Communist Party is a type of revenge of the ruling classes against that political group which participated with all its energies and its forces in the formation of the Popular Front, whose victory in the year 1935 brought new perspectives and vast changes in the future of French political forces.

The figure which the Communist Party cut in the political life of the French people was above all that of an extraordinarily unified organization and one with a well-advanced political development. In simple and direct language the Communists spoke to the country after the fascist demonstration of February 1934—which was in effect a *coup d'etat* against the republic. They spoke in the spirit of the masses, denouncing the fascist leagues who were set on destroying the republican regime. The Communists worked to weld together the healthy forces of the country and rally them to the defense of the republic. A deep sympathy for unity of action with the Communist Party showed itself among the militant rank and file members of the Socialist Party. It seemed to everyone that in those critical hours, when democratic forms and institutions were threatened by reaction, the duty of all workers was to form a solid front to stop reaction. Socialists and Communists marched by hundreds of thousands shoulder to shoulder in the streets of Paris a few days after the frustrated putsch of February 6, 1934. The road to unity was open. It led to the signing of a pact in July 1934 of unity of action between the directing groups of the Socialist and Communist parties. Knowing the will to unity of the working classes, the French Communists began to see their ranks increase in number. But their historic task was only beginning. The unity of the working class against fascism was only one of the tasks assigned to the French Communist Party. Under the brilliant direction of Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the party, then only thirty-five years old, the party set itself to the job of unifying the workers, the farmers, and the middle classes. In a rural country like France where the peasantry and the middle classes balance the proletariat, from a numerical point of view, the formula of the Popular Front could not help but evoke a great popular response. After having fought for several months against the feigned or deliberate inertia of certain Socialist leaders opposed to the idea of the Popular Front, the leadership of the Communist Party, who had brought its clear message before the masses, finally overcame all resistance.

Victorious in Spain in the legal elections of February 1936, the popular front idea seemed to the democrats of the entire world an incomparable instrument for the liberation of the working masses from economic bondage. Obliged to follow this popular current under the threat of losing their following and their position in French political life, the enemies of the Popular Front were temporarily defeated. An accord was reached before the legislative elections of May under the terms of which Socialists, Communists, Radical Socialists, and certain other liberal sectors agreed to support the most successful candidate as shown by the run-off elections. The triumph of the Popular Front was overwhelming. Mobilized behind the now famous slogan: "Bread, Peace and Freedom," the working class, the peasantry, and the middle classes united for the first time in the history of France upon their common interests, and smashed reaction. The legislative chamber of 1932, which was a chamber of the Left, now deepened its complexion. The Communists, who had only eleven deputies seated, won a rousing victory. Despite the infidelity of certain candidates who had entered the elections under the banner of the Popular Front and who then refused at the last moment to with-

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draw in favor of the most favored candidate, their parliamentary group increased by sixty-one members: workers, peasants, petty bourgeois; all with clear eyes, often with calloused hands. During the sittings, several aristocrats, living fossils who found themselves among people's deputies, dared to raise their voices against the presence of workers in the legislative assembly.

THE DEPUTIES

These carry-overs had not grasped the fact that France had taken a decisive turn. The seventy-two Communist deputies (the two candidates elected in 1939 explain the recent figure of seventy-four) immediately began the struggle for social legislation and the forty-hour week. Under the direction of Jacques Duclos, who had been elected vice president of the Chamber of Deputies, the Communist parliamentary group soon made itself outstanding. With five of its members in the presidential and vice-presidential chairs of Chamber commissions, its deputies (so different from the careerist politicians who still unfortunately occupied too great a number of the parliamentary benches), the Communist representatives brought a new atmosphere to the French parliament.

Within the memory of man, Paris had never been the theater of a march so imposing as the one seen July 14, 1936. A million and a half people paraded from the Place de la Nation to the Place de la Bastille. The working class claimed its victory. Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched before the monumental tribune where Communist leaders stood side by side with Socialist and Radical leaders acclaiming Maurice Thorez, whose name symbolized for them the soul of the Popular Front. It was he who had defined its aims and he who had erected its foundation by his extraordinary energy. The same day Radicals, Socialists, and Communists, in solemn ceremony swore their fidelity to a charter in which the essential principles of the Popular Front had been incorporated. This oath of fidelity, which has already passed into history under the name of the Oath of the Fourteenth of July, is remembered by the French Communists who were its champions—particularly in these days when their former allies, either irresponsibly or deliberately, are violating that oath of unity.

A decisive trial then awaited the Communist Party. The war in Spain came. The party, whose policy since 1935 had been steadfastly directed along the road of collective security in the fight against the fascist threat

"You're illegal!" Mischa Richter

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to France's eastern frontier, denounced the Franco insurrection from its start as a plan to encircle France. Placing the accent on the more and more menacing character of Italian and German intervention in Spain, the French Communists appealed to the government of Leon Blum, who had set in motion the criminal hoax of "non-intervention," emphasizing the danger that the defense of a third frontier meant to France in the case of a victory by General Franco. To the exhortations of the Communists, demanding that the Spanish Republic be saved and that France respect the clauses of a commercial treaty which she had signed three months earlier with Spain (this treaty stipulated that all Spanish armaments should be bought in France), Leon Blum replied with windy sighs, shed crocodile tears over his personal dilemma, and declared in his speeches that in erecting the machine of non-intervention he had "wished to challenge the honor of Hitler and Mussolini."

French reaction, steadily following the policy of "non-intervention," bided its time. Impatient for its revenge, it put into action all the means at its disposal to divide the forces of the Popular Front on the Spanish question. Realizing well that the Popular Front could not be divided on its social program, despite the hesitation and weakness of Leon Blum, the reactionaries accepted the social laws with all sorts of hypocritical phrases to better veil their plan to break up the Popular Front by other means. Tactically they recognized the problem: isolate the Communists from the rest of the country on the question of "non-intervention," then officially supported by the Radical Socialists and the [illegible].

THE PEOPLE

This policy had an immediate echo among the people of France. Contrary to what reaction had counted upon, those sections of public opinion which had hitherto been fooled by the propaganda of the bribed press opened their eyes to the facts. After the fall of the Blum government a strong movement arose within the Socialist Party favoring Republican Spain, which grew in intensity. The Radical Socialists were moved in turn. Despite the intrigues and the lobbies, the policy of the unity of the French nation, developed by Maurice Thorez at a congress of the party, gained ground day by day. But the Spanish Republic still had one deadly enemy in France in the person of Georges Bonnet, who succeeded Yvon Delbos in the Foreign Office. And despite a constant increase of organized opinion favorable to the repeal of "non-intervention," Georges Bonnet, the direct representative of the capitalist interests in the French Cabinet, the sworn enemy of the Popular Front, won out with his policy of capitulation to foreign fascism and of betrayal of the vital interests and traditions of France.

Alone in raising their voice against the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by Hitler, by semi-feudal Poland and by Hungary, the French Communists had the courage to maintain their position amid alarms and excursions, at the moment when the entire commercial press shouted "peace in our time." They showed that Munich would open an era of adventures in Europe which could only end in war.

BONNET'S GAME

Secret German finances (350,000,000 francs were involved, according to American Ambassador Bullitt's statement) bribed the commercial press to insult the Communists. When, after Hitler's seizure of the rest of Czechoslovakia, public opinion demanded the immediate dismissal of Bonnet from the Foreign Office, he simulated repentance and declared himself able to organize a true peace front, which would embrace France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, to resist Hitler. Negotiations commenced in Moscow. At the very beginning, the French Communists placed their reservations on the quality of the individuals who were conducting it. *L'Humanite,* the central organ of the Communist Party, pointed out several times during the negotiations that double-dealing was being carried on by Chamberlain and Bonnet who on one hand stated that they wished to conclude a pact with the Soviet Union and on the other hand encouraged Poland to refuse any assistance whatsoever from the Soviet military.

When the Soviets concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany on August 24, French reaction, having confided its destinies to Daladier, a former partisan of the Popular Front, demanded the suppression of the Communist Party. The enemies of the Communist Party exulted. Leon Blum, whose mock sleeplessness and anguish during the Spanish war had never troubled his bad conscience, joined with this French reaction to demand the dissolution of the Communist Party. At first the repression started on a small scale. Prison terms were meted out here and there. Hundreds of investigations were started in districts all over the country. Communists were excluded from the committees of the Chamber of Deputies. But the Communist Party remained whole and entire as it had during the course of the Munich crisis. The press might say that resignations from the party had increased by tens of thousands, but no trace of such defection could be found.

DALADIER STRIKES

Finally the government itself decided to act. As these lines are being written an unprecedented wave of repression is spreading throughout France. Today all the local organizations of the French Communist Party are closed. Its militant members, wherever found, are being thrown into prison or into concentration camps.

Today each group in France which considers that its duty is to inform the people about current events is in the same position. France, the birthplace of the "declaration of the rights of man" is under the iron rule of the Daladier dictatorship. If any proof were needed to confirm the imperialist nature of this war, the outlawing of the French Communist Party certainly supplies it.

But the great problem of the reactionaries remains. The truth cannot be permanently suppressed. Faithful to its tradition, the French Communist Party will emerge victorious from this rigorous trial, thanks to the energy of its leaders and the political maturity of its 300,000 members.

PHILIPPE DEVAL.

Death Mask

The Diplomat

The figure is apt in corridors
between the sentinels and statues
saved in iron.
Through sleeping capitals
the golden clocks
record his flights;
The chimes, the chosen words,
drop on the falling chancelleries
their thirty silver sounds.

The train unwinds the map;
sunlit, the actual peasants
blink in the boiling dust.
The subsea eye is inward:
the faces at the window
barely merge with trees.

Or in the nocturnal plane,
between the moon and the people,
hastens the image in the air.
The common roofs conceal
the drowsy lives; on the night's
motion
passes the last dream.

The tongue in the halls of state
ripples the valued rivers,
the exchange of ports,
the somber names of ships.
The farmer planted in his nation
the customary spring:
tall in a strange land
blows the grain.

Home with his borders,
the pliable image
nods in his marble room:
Squads close the bridgeheads,
the deathly navies
break the sea.

The mask
is a silhouette
in the halls of state;
The marble room
is finally folding;
the borders cry against him;
Variant in the capitals,
the golden clocks assure
the terminal, the authentic face.

DON GORDON.

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Virtuosi of Confusion

The "Nation" and the "New Republic" reflect their own bewilderment. Through the storm of events without chart or compass. The contradictions of liberalism.

GREAT crises in world affairs are the social X-rays of every age. They lay bare strengths and weaknesses, they reveal the essential quality of the thought and action of individuals, classes, political groups. The first imperialist war was such a crisis. The second imperialist war is another.

One of the most significant forces operating in the present great crisis is the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. This is an agreement between the most progressive government in the world and the most reactionary, between that government which has most consistently fought for peace and that which has been the chief instigator of war. The supreme test of this pact is not whether it accords with the imperialist plans of the British and French governments, or with the preconceptions of amateur political strategists in this country, but whether the practical results of the relationship that has been set up are good or bad. Above all, who has the advantage of whom: is fascist Germany being weakened or strengthened by the pact; is Socialist USSR being weakened or strengthened? The pact is, in fact, the key to the war crisis and serves as a touchstone for judging political behavior in all countries.

CONFUSION

How have magazines like the *Nation* and *New Republic* responded to the pact? How have they met the test of the crisis? As in 1914-18, the *Nation* and *New Republic* are supporting one imperialist group against another. As in 1914-18, they are failing to understand that the future does not lie with imperialism, fascist or "democratic." An analysis of the issues of these two magazines since the announcement of the Soviet-German pact reveals fumbling and confusion, a drifting with the tide of events that has necessitated a change of course from week to week. "Hitler is strengthened in every way," moaned the *New Republic* in its first editorial comment on the pact in the August 30 issue. The *Nation* spoke (Aug. 26 issue) of Hitler's "colossal diplomatic victory" which had laid the "foundations for another Munich." Now even Walter Lippmann, who at first also joined the Cassandra chorus, is compelled to admit that the Red Army's march into western Ukraine and Byelo Russia, a bold corollary to the Soviet-German pact, has meant a major defeat for Hitler, "jeopardizing almost all his previous political triumphs." (New York *Herald Tribune*, Sept. 26.)

"Fantastic," "illogical," "labored" were some of the adjectives which the *Nation* and *New Republic* used to describe the explanations which the left gave concerning the pact —explanations which have now been substantially confirmed by events. It is instructive to chart the vagaries of *Nation* and *New Republic* comment on the pact and the developments that flowed from it. After damning the pact out of hand, these two liberal organs soon discovered that, as NEW MASSES pointed out in its first editorial statement in the August 29 issue, the agreement with Germany did have a none too happy effect on the fascist axis. "Japan is of course severed from the axis by the Soviet treaty," the *New Republic* of September 6 declared, "and is unlikely to rush to Hitler's aid. Even Spain is reported to be alienated by the new developments; and Spain is hardly prepared for war anyway. If she denies the use of air and naval bases to Hitler and Mussolini, one great worry of the Allies will be over." The *Nation* likewise found (Sept. 2 issue) that the pact would have "a salutary effect in the Far East." But in another editorial in the very same week the *New Republic* treated the pact as a major calamity, while the *Nation's* Robert Dell spoke of "Stalin's treachery."

The following week both the *Nation* and *New Republic* published Paris dispatches from Louis Fischer. Apparently what he had to say was so important that he required two magazines to convey his message. Though he never grasped the deeper meaning of Socialism, Mr. Fischer was at one time an intelligent interpreter of Soviet affairs to the outside world. This makes his present exhibition all the more sad. His articles in the *Nation* of September 9 and 23 and the *New Republic* of September 13 consist largely of frenzied apostrophes to Chamberlain and equally frenzied denunciations of Stalin in the best manner of the Paris *Temps*.

In writing these authoritative comments from Paris, Mr. Fischer has had the added advantage of the most rigorous censorship in the world outside the countries of fascist dictatorship. This has made it unnecessary for him to include any reservations concerning the nobility of Chamberlain and the perfidy of Stalin. Britain and France responsible for the breakdown in the negotiations in Moscow? "Moscow knew that the British and French governments had dropped their policy of appeasement," Mr. Fischer tells the readers of the *New Republic*. In fact, it is Soviet "isolationism" that "explains the protracted and unsatisfactory character of the Anglo-French pact negotiations. There had never been any great eagerness in Moscow to sign the pact." The revelations of Voroshilov and Molotov as to the culpability of the British, French and Polish governments—never denied in London, Paris and Warsaw and since confirmed in part or whole by independent commentators, including Lloyd George—are simply non-existent for Louis Fischer, as they are for the French censorship.

Mr. Fischer became even more hysterical in a dispatch in the September 23 issue of the *Nation* on the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine and Byelo Russia. Hitler, he solemnly warned, "may soon have reason to invade Rumania." And elsewhere in the same article: "Germany therefore will hardly be able to resist the temptation or avoid the necessity of occupying Rumania." In his anti-Soviet delirium Mr. Fischer didn't bother to look at a map which could have told him that between Hitler and Rumania there now stood for the first time the Red Army, effectively barring his path. Concerning the British and French governments he grew quite lyrical. "I find that the Allies' conduct of the war thus far has had the touch of genius." (Tell that to the Polish people, Mr. Fischer.) And: "The British announcement that the war will probably last three years was an inspiration." The title of Mr. Fischer's genuflexions before imperialism is "Russia Goes West." It should be called: "God Save the King."

NO APOLOGY NEEDED

In the *Nation* of September 23 I. F. Stone had an article in which he cited newspaper stories to show that as far back as May 1938 the idea of a Soviet-German pact was already under consideration. Mr. Stone implies that the whole business looks rather sinister. Apparently it is news to him that the Soviet Union has always desired friendly relations with all countries. Just why he started with 1938 is not clear. He might have gone back to September 28, 1936—as did NEW MASSES—and quoted Litvinov before the League of Nations: "We by no means object to attempts at an agreement even with the most aggressive countries. On the contrary, we consider it necessary to invite them to take part in every international step." Or he might have gone back further, to December 29, 1933, when Litvinov told the Central Executive Committee of the USSR: "With Germany, as with other states, we want to have the best relations. The Soviet Union and Germany will gain nothing but benefit from such relations." That the leaders of the Soviet Government, in their dealings with capitalist governments, never put all their political eggs in one basket requires no apology.

Mr. Stone's analysis of the course of the Chamberlain government in the months prior to the Soviet-German pact is more to the point. In its August 26 issue the *Nation* had said: "We can also expect from Moscow accusations that Britain had deliberately delayed the negotiations for an Anglo-Russian pact, had engaged in them only to placate domestic opinion, and had never, in fact, intended to

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bring them to a conclusion. But in the light of what has happened it seems impossible to accept this version of the obstacles to agreement." In his article in the *Nation* of September 23 Mr. Stone makes a documented refutation of this statement. "The conclusion, after reexamination of the day-by-day record," he writes, "seems to me inescapable that Chamberlain did not want a Russian pact, and that he did not want it, among other reasons, because he hoped the failure to obtain the pact would lead the Poles to surrender."

Of course the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine and Byelo Russia sent the editors of the *Nation* and *New Republic* into a dither. Hard-boiled capitalist commentators were not slow in noting that Hitler had been effectively stymied by the Soviet move. But the *Nation* and *New Republic,* still under the spell of their original thesis that the non-aggression pact was a betrayal, and that Stalin and Hitler were working for common objectives, utterly failed to comprehend what any schoolboy, looking at a map, could have told them. "Certainly these two countries [Hungary and Rumania]," wrote the *Nation* in its September 23 issue, "will now become more subservient than ever to Hitler's wishes, for both must know that if they risk Nazi displeasure they are liable to be stabbed in the back by the Soviets." And the *New Republic* of September 27 lamented:

> The news is as bad as possible for every country that has been either neutral or in favor of the Western Allies, and we shall probably see a rush to get out of the storm. Whether Russia strikes against Rumania or not, the threat of her action is sufficient to compel the unhappy Rumanians to supply oil and wheat to the Germans, whose [illegible] thus augmented at one of its weakest points.

And now consider what a conservative commentator, Walter Lippmann, has to say:

> When we remember that as recently as last April Hitler was claiming eastern Europe up to the old Russian frontier as the "German living space" and asserting the right of Germany to a free hand in this whole region, the present situation is indeed astonishing. He has conceded three-fifths of Poland to Russia. He has placed Rumania altogether within the Russian sphere of influence. He has given up his hitherto undisputed strategic domination of Hungary. He has lost the position which enabled him to encircle the Czechoslovaks and cut them off from contact with any other great power. And he has caused the Yugoslavs, who have deep and ancient ties with Russia, to resume relations with Moscow.
>
> His war against Poland has been a military triumph. But he has bought that triumph by jeopardizing almost all his previous political triumphs. (New York *Herald Tribune,* Sept. 26.)

The New York *Times* (Sept. 25) and other right-wing authorities appraised the situation in similar realistic vein. Lloyd George cabled from London to the Philadelphia *Record* of September 24 that "There is now an almost complete reversal of opinion as to the motive and effect of Stalin's move." Only the liberal editors of the *Nation* and *New Republic* clung to stereotypes which life had already swept into the discard.

In their next issues the *Nation* and *New Republic* began belatedly and bewilderedly to shift their course again. Perhaps it was a spirit of self-criticism that moved the *Nation* to write in that issue (Sept. 30): "The future of Russo-German relations is a no man's land into which the prophet ventures at his own risk. More than one seer has been blown to bits, and most of us are already shell-shocked." Not prophecy or crystal-gazing is needed these days, however, but realistic understanding of the tides that are moving the world. Well-meaning muddleheadedness is no substitute for Marxism.

The *Nation* of September 30 repudiated the *Nation* of September 23 as follows:

> One is forced to conclude that Stalin is playing a lone hand, that his peculiar kind of "non-aggression" in this peculiar war may prove the Fuhrer's greatest danger, and that Stalin has already won the first round. . . . The Russians, by obtaining the whole of the Polish Ukraine have taken from Germany the fulcrum with which it hoped to pry loose the Russian Ukraine. Their new territory separates all of Rumania and most of the Hungarian-held Carpatho-Ukraine from the Reich. In cutting off Rumania it establishes a barrier against Germany's expansion through that country to the Black Sea.

But the past does not die so easily, and further on the same editorial states:

> But if the new Russian territory between Rumania and the Reich is a bulwark against Germany's expansion to the southeast, it also serves another purpose. Hitler obtained a price for the Polish cessions to Stalin. The Allies cannot strike through Rumania at the Reich's back door without crossing Russian territory. Thus a "neutral" Balkan region under Soviet hegemony serves the same purpose as a "neutral" Italy. The Reich in either case has a source of supply without the need to defend additional borders or to prop up incompetent and unreliable allies as in 1914-18. . . . Hitler's power to strike at the West has been enormously strengthened by his deal with Stalin, whatever its ultimate effect may be.

What the *Nation* here implies is that it would be a good thing if the Allies violated the neutrality of Rumania. And it would have been an equally good thing if the 11,000,000 people of western Ukraine and Byelo Russia had fallen into the hands of Hitler so that the Allies, after violating Rumanian neutrality, could make their cities and fields the scene of bloody warfare. Just how the Reich "in either case has a source of supply" in view of the *Nation's* own admission that the new Soviet territory "separates all of Rumania and most of the Hungarian-held Carpatho-Ukraine from the Reich" is a puzzle to which only the shell-shocked editors of the *Nation* know the answer. Another puzzle is how "Hitler's power to strike at the West has been enormously strengthened" by the fact that he is now compelled to keep a large army on the border of the new Soviet territory and he has been cut off from the wheat fields of Rumania and Hungary and the oil fields of Rumania.

The *New Republic* of October 4 did a similar about-face, followed in the same editorial by an equally ludicrous attempt to carry water on both shoulders.

Finally, there came the *piece de resistance,* an article by James Wechsler entitled "Stalin and Union Square" (it has nothing to do with either Stalin or Union Square) in the *Nation* of September 30. "This article," Mr. Wechsler tells us in the second paragraph, "written in the immediate chaotic aftermath of the event, aims to give an outline of what representative radicals and liberals were thinking in this period of upheaval." One discovers on reading the article that Granville Hicks is a representative radical, but not Earl Browder, that Heywood Broun is a representative something or other, but not Mike Gold. As for Corliss Lamont, who has continued to support Soviet policy despite the defection of Mr. Wechsler's handful of "representative radicals and liberals," he is dismissed with a sneer as "among the most permanently devout fellow travelers." Then there was that Communist meeting at Madison Square Garden which the "representative radicals and liberals" had expected to be a flop. "In fact the Garden was jammed," Mr. Wechsler writes, "the crowd almost frenzied in its enthusiasm, dissenters nowhere in evidence. Not that ideological clarity had been miraculously restored. [Perish the thought, since it would wreck Mr. Wechsler's thesis.—A. B. M.] The crowd appeared at times uncertain as to whether boos or cheers were called for in the light of the new policy." Another sneer, and the proposition is proved.

In his third paragraph Mr. Wechsler unloads this:

> The major concomitant of the line of the "democratic front" adopted by the Comintern in 1935 was the creation of a multitude of non-Communist groups. They carried the banners of anti-fascist unity among "men of good will"; they preached collective security against fascist aggression; their programs bore little resemblance to the sectarian dogmas identified with the "third period." The extent to which these organizations were "controlled" by Communists has been a permanent source of debate; the important fact is that they were enthusiastically supported by large numbers of non-Communists who felt varying degrees of affection for the party itself and were bracketed under the classification of "fellow travelers."

Mr. J. B. Matthews of the Dies committee would disagree. He would never think of putting quotation marks around "controlled," nor would he admit that there could be any debate about the matter. Clearly, Mr. Wechsler is a bright young man who has grown a trifle giddy and Gitlowish from the fact that he was once briefly on the inside. And like all such people, he isn't too fastidious about facts—many of the united front organizations, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Youth Congress, were formed prior

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to 1935; and Robert Forsythe's name disappeared from the masthead of NEW MASSES two months before the signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. But not factual misstatement so much as innuendo is the sniper's weapon. And by innuendo it is possible to adumbrate a lie greater than any outright falsehood.

Mr. Wechsler's article is something more than cynical reporting. It is a political platform. "I have already encountered tentative groping toward a new alignment," he writes. "Its most likely form would be a loose, flexible body comparable to the 'New Beginnings' group which emerged in post-Hitler Germany, a group socialist in ultimate objective but committed to no orthodox doctrine or to any International, and unwilling to assume the shape and functions of a political party until its strength has been established. . . . Neither the form nor the content of such a grouping is any clearer than I have indicated, nor has its organization advanced beyond the discussion stage."

In short, an organization of fainthearts and muddleheads, of armyless generals who are unable to agree on anything except hostility to Communism. The American people are waiting breathlessly for such leadership. Mr. Wechsler doesn't know it of course, but his reference to the German "New Beginnings" group was none too happy. That group arose within German Social Democracy, professing to be dissatisfied with the policies of its official right-wing leadership. But its very first manifesto was strongly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. Today it is a reactionary little sect, working closely with the Brandler group, the German counterpart of the American Lovestoneites, doing its bit to keep the German people divided.

The Wechsler article marks a new low in liberal journalism. That it could have appeared in a magazine like the *Nation* is a symptom of something more than confusion. Powerful currents are running in America and the world. A new offensive against civil liberties is under way. It finds expression not only through specifically reactionary channels, but through individuals or groups who out of weakness, confusion, or opportunism provide weapons for reaction. But as the experience of Germany has shown, those who are unable to see who the real enemy is are unlikely themselves to be spared. Those who in this imperialist war crisis give comfort to the warmongers can expect no peace.

A. B. MAGIL.

This Wasn't Spain

MOLOTOV was the first to say it; Lloyd George repeated it; and now even the right-wing anti-Soviet press is beginning to admit it: the former government of Poland was a reactionary regime that ignominiously collapsed and fled the country a few days after the Nazi invasion. A far cry from Spain!

In a letter to the Polish Ambassador in London, Lloyd George attacked "the improvident Polish Government" and declared: "The Polish peasantry are living in great poverty owing to the operation of the worst feudal system in Europe. That is why the Russian troops are being hailed as deliverers."

The New York *Times* of October 2 published a London dispatch from its former Warsaw correspondent, Jerzy Szapiro, under the headline: "Polish Government Now Blamed for Nation's Military Collapse." And on the same day the New York *World-Telegram* published an Associated Press story from Bucharest which began: "Field Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz, commander of Poland's vanquished legions, was described by refugees today as a broken exile, shunned by fellow officers who coldly regard him as a general who deserted his doomed but fighting army."

What about the new Polish "government" which has just been formed in Paris? The new President, Wladislaw Raczkiewicz, was appointed by the head of the previous semi-fascist regime, Professor Ignace Moscicki. The new Premier and War Minister, Wladislaw Sikorski, is of the same officer clique that led Poland to ruin. Despite the efforts that may be made to give this "government" a more democratic physiognomy, it is clear that it is only a receivership for the old bankrupt dictatorship of colonels and wealthy landowners. For five years, from 1934 to March 1939, that regime put the interests of the Polish people in hock to the Nazis. The new "government" is trying to put them in hock to the British and French imperialists.

The Unhappy Warriors

Ad Reinhardt

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ANGEL ISLAND

Harper Knowles, former secretary of Associated Farmers, Inc., "testifies" in Harry Bridges trial that he worked to get the West Coast CIO leader deported. Larry Doyle, shipowner stooge, admits that his wife is a secretary in Associated Farmers' San Francisco office.

MARYSVILLE

Herbert Resner, CIO United Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union attorney, defends fourteen workers charged with violating county's anti-picketing ordinance. Eleven workers hastily released when Resner threatens to argue constitutionality of law before the Third District Court of Appeals.

SAN FRANCISCO

State Chamber of Commerce meets with Associated Farmers leaders to map secret "farmer-business" campaign to coincide with September 30 contract renewals of waterfront unions. Pro-America, California tory group, damns "Grapes of Wrath" and "Factories in the Fields" as smear literature and destructive propaganda.

KERN COUNTY

County Board of Supervisors, acting on orders from Associated Farmers, bans "The Grapes of Wrath" from all county libraries. Kern County Chamber of Commerce produces "Plums of Plenty," two-reeler in color to show to San Francisco Fair visitors.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY

NLRB reveals State Federation of Labor Secretary Vandeleur worked with Canners League to form company unions in giant canneries.

FRESNO

California State Chamber of Commerce winds up drive for funds to wage fight against people's program in state legislature and to defeat any future Olson efforts. Valley Committee's letter outlining tory campaign is reproduced with this article.

LOS ANGELES

G. K. Spencer, county chairman of Associated Farmers, exposed as "coordinator" for McDaniel food processors lobby in Washington, D. C. Hank Strobel, AF strong-arm man of Salinas lettuce strike shame, also revealed as lobby aid.

TULARE COUNTY

Associated Farmers, Inc. leaders, including Tagus Ranch foreman, meet with State Employment Service members to set up private "slave mart" to circumvent Department of Labor ruling that stopped State Employment Service from scab-herding during strikes.

IMPERIAL COUNTY

County Board of Supervisors hastily meets with District Attorney after the Lubin Society (Helen Hosmer, secretary) exposes AF "investigator" on Board's payroll. G. G. Bennett, president of county AF, attempts merger of AF with Oxford Group. Hugh Osborne, AF chief, tries similar merger with Brawley Presbyterian Church.

Associated Farmers Sow the Seeds of Fascism in California

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Associated Farmers: Sowers of Fascism

Helen Hosmer, who knows more about the Associated Farmers than they know about themselves, gives their history. Behind "The Grapes of Wrath." The first of two articles.

No one will argue the fact that San Francisco and Los Angeles are the pivotal counties of California—centers of greatest numerical voting strength, centers for the coordination of industry and finance, and of the state's progressive movement.

San Francisco has produced the powerful waterfront unions, reflecting hope for organized labor in the entire state. Los Angeles (plus Hollywood) has produced a strong middle class progressive movement which, uniting with newly developing unions, ousted a reactionary mayor through recall and now drives forward for clean city government and against open shop traditions. Geography is here bridged through mutual understanding and program. The two counties have connected.

All of this was strong enough to reach out into the state and with the aid of progressive nuclei in other centers plus a momentarily united labor movement, defeat a statewide anti-picketing initiative and knock over the top leadership of a forty-four-year-old Republican machine. All of this was *not* strong enough to do more than that, as the recent legislative debacle here proves.

THE GOOD EARTH

What's the stumbling block? Look at the map of California. Forty-three of the fifty-eight counties divided by great valleys and coastal towns, mountain slopes and reclaimed desert, exist by virtue of the agricultural industry. There's the rich San Joaquin delta region with its asparagus, celery, beans, onions and rice bursting from the corporation-owned black soil. There's the Santa Clara valley with its seventy thousand acres of prunes, twenty thousand of apricots.[1] There's Steinbeck's "Long Valley" (San Joaquin-Sacramento or Central Valley) with about two-thirds of the state's thirty million acres of agricultural lands. Here are vast cotton "plantations" and gins, great vineyards and wineries.[2] South of the Tehachapis lies the rich citrus belt. Dipping down to the border are the reclaimed acres of Imperial Valley with their own lettuce bowl, besides great varieties of fruits and vegetables. And there's the coastal lettuce bowl and the pea crops—over half of the nation's yield.[3]

The huge peach bowl is dominated by the great Tagus Ranch and other corporations, with pears, apples, figs, raisins competing for a quality market. A tremendous poultry industry vies with the huge dairy industry which has a subsidiary hay crop valued at $53,112,000—topped only by the value of the orange crop. Cattle, sheep and hog production average $135,000,000 annually. Walnuts grown on 134,638 acres reach the high value of $9,975,000. Sugar beets are only exceeded by Colorado's sugar beet production figures, though outstripping Colorado in production per acre. Hop and rice fields watch foreign markets while olives and dates are California monopolies.

California's agriculture outstrips the combined income of oil and mining. Its advertising outlays are the highest of any California industry. Its production costs more than triple that of the motion picture industry. Manufacturing leads as a source of basic income but more than a fourth of its total derives from canning, packing, preserving and milling, industries allied with agriculture.[4]

THE GLUT OF SURPLUS

There are, then, forty-three counties with thirty million acres involved. Each season the productive wealth pushes up from the soil, is swallowed by the open maw of giant canneries and processing plants, loaded on trucks and carried over the solidly built highways to warehouses and from warehouses to waterfront and freight lines.

The terrifying abundance can't be stopped. Surpluses glut the market, some systematically destroyed, some left to rot, some used for hog feed or purchased by the government. All is caught in inter-commodity market wars—peaches fight pears and pears fight apples. All of it reveals a top-heavy chaos that is but one product of speculative finance-farming.

Through the rural counties intricate irrigation canal systems spread their net; the octopus of Pacific Gas & Electric, Southern California Edison, controlling power and water for costly irrigated acres. Freight lines and trucking lines, insurance, tractor, fertilizer and spray companies, real estate, hundreds of branch banks, packing houses, canneries, warehouses, dehydraters, cotton gins and compresses, wineries and drying sheds, seaports and lumber mills—all feed from the one great source: California's industrialized farm system.

Fed by it too, on starvation diets, are the 250,000 men, women and children—field workers, homeless and landless, proletarianized racial minority groups blending with land-minded dispossessed farmers from the Middle West, all in hopeless competition for the day's picking.[5] To keep them in competition is the job of the managerial staffs, push bosses, pace setters, labor relations experts, labor contractors, gang foremen and private slave marts.

WHO OWNS IT

Who owns the thirty million acres of *intensively* cultivated land? Who nets the $660,000,000 annual gross income?

Out of a total of 150,360 farms, 5,225 farms or less than 3½ percent totaled 18,057,126 acres—or 62 percent of the acreage (1935). 67,444 farms in 1935 were mortgaged with a total indebtedness of nearly half a billion dollars. Actually only 34.2 percent of the farmers own unencumbered farms.

Giannini Foundation statisticians tell us there are some 60,000 small farmers in the state with three to fifty acres each. If they are given an average of thirty acres each, they would still operate only 1,800,000 acres. This is leaning over backwards, almost to absurdity. Called "marginal" by the corporation interests, they cling to the edge, are in the same relationship to the farm economy as the small shopkeeper is to the industrial economy. They don't belong, are being rapidly liquidated through legislative controls and economic pressure.[6]

What about the balance of the acreage, in California closely linked with crop values? *Walker's Manual of West Coast Securities* (1938), listing only incorporated farms, reveals that twenty-one such farm corporations own between them 1,254,653 acres (see table on page 18). Interlocking directorates narrow these twenty-one "farmers" down considerably. *Not* listed in *Walker's* are such giants as Tagus, Balfour-Guthrie (British owned), El Solyo, Irvine citrus holdings, Holly, Crystal, Spreckles sugar beet companies, Hoover's Pasco Produce & Development Co[illegible] Hotchkiss Company, Teague's Or[illegible] Company, H. P. Garin's lettuce, E. Clements Horst's hop and rice fields. What about Southern Pacific's reputed 2,598,775 acres, Hearst's 300,000 acres, Chandler's acres? Enmeshed in a network of absentee interlocked ownership, this preponderant acreage is easily accounted for, or would be if our "farmers" were not so record-shy.

But do they own *land only?* Obviously, land is but a small part of the machinery of their business, useless unless control reaches down into all phases of the industry, from growing to shipping and marketing—and of course banking.

CASE HISTORY

Charles McIntosh is a California "farmer." He is a director of Miller & Lux (111,893 acres) and president of the Fresno Land Co. He's a director of the California Packing Corp. and San Joaquin Power & Light, merged to Pacific Gas & Electric of which he is also a director. He's president of the Bank of California, director of the Merchant's Exchange and of the Oceanic & Oriental Navigation Co., tied to the American Hawaiian and Matson Lines. He's director of San Joaquin King's River Canal & Irrigation Co. and director of the Russ Building

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in San Francisco where Associated Farmers, Inc., has its state offices.

To ensure his profits, Mr. McIntosh must follow his crops from field to truck to cannery to warehouse to waterfront. And he must deal with labor every inch of the way. Even his timid bank clerks are more than a potential threat.

Shall he tackle labor where it is strongest, or weakest? He tried both in 1934. He crushed agricultural workers easily enough but look what "Bloody Thursday" did to the waterfront!

Not a simple problem, this. If field, packing shed, cannery, warehouse, truck, waterfront and seagoing vessel are all united into strong unions, what a threat to Mr. McIntosh's profits! And if all labor is united between city and country, what's to prevent the small farmers from banding together, joining forces with labor? Mr. McIntosh, remember, sells power and water to those small farmers, makes crop loans at certain interest rates to them, holds some of their mortgages, purchases their farm produce for his giant canneries at *his* price. His fellow industrialist-farmers own railroad lines, fruit auction houses in the East, operate cotton gins, other banks, sell tractors, fertilizers, sprays, control the marketing "cooperatives." The 60,000 small farmers must turn to them for their means of production and then attempt competition with them for the same market. Suppose this should become clear to those farmers, clear enough for united action?

To prevent all this it was necessary to devise a strategy and with it a machinery which could move slowly, dividing city from country, eventually assist in breaking that strongest point, the waterfront. But the machinery was no good unless it carried with it "public opinion." And public opinion involves creation of an ideology, a following and eventually a mass base. Well, that could be done with enough of a field staff, enough in the treasury. It could be done if the forty-three rural counties were controlled by a well-greased local and state apparatus.

CONTROL MACHINERY

It appeared not too tough a job. The rural senators and assemblymen were theirs, always. The county boards of supervisors with their unbelievably broad powers, were theirs. The Governor and his Republican machine, theirs body and soul. The Farm Bureau, the paper Farmers Union,[7] the marketing associations, whimsically still called cooperatives, theirs. The state farm agencies from the Agricultural Code through the Department of Agriculture, Board of Agriculture, College of Agriculture, Extension Service, down to most of the county agricultural commissioners, were all theirs. The agricultural section of the state Chamber of Commerce, local chambers, county sheriffs and district attorneys, theirs. The farmers were theirs through bank loans and a thousand other controls.

And out of the state's six million or so people, they had a rural population of some one million with which to work. Not much of an army by comparison but weren't these people all kept alive by the farm industry? Bank clerks, shopkeepers, insurance and farm salesmen, teachers, the combined managerial payroll of the local allied agricultural industries—weren't they trained to watch the weather and the rural press, this press existing by courtesy of local machine politics?

Was this strategy thought out in its entirety in 1934, carried through to its present development? Not in its full flowering, obviously. In 1933 the depression had hit the agricultural phase of California finance capital's operations hardest. In their factories they curtailed production, laid off workers, reduced wages. In their farm fields wages had to be *smashed*. And so, when the Imperial Valley strike broke, strong action followed. So strong in fact, that the NRA through its National Labor Board named Simon J. Lubin to head a committee, investigate and report on Imperial Valley terrorism. The report was dynamite.[8] It had to be squelched. The state Chamber of Commerce "borrowed" amenable Dean Hutchison of the College of Agriculture, W. C. Jacobsen of the state Department of Agriculture, and John Phillips, rural assemblyman, now state senator, and sent them to the Valley. Their hastily produced whitewash report[9] got sensational publicity. It became the program around which Associated Farmers, Inc. organized officially in 1934.

Recommendations in the report included aid from the state Bar Association in spotting attorneys who came to the defense of workers, increased personnel and authority for state highway patrol, blacklists for the state Bureau of Criminal Identification to be given to peace officers throughout the state, "remedial" legislation for deportation of "undesirable aliens" and "conferences between representatives of agriculture and labor leaders of the state to coordinate the efforts of both groups in meeting this common problem"—namely, the *Red Menace*.

Said Parker Frisselle (on the state's payroll as manager of the university's experimental Kearney Vineyards), when appointed first president of Associated Farmers: "Public opinion is the biggest enemy and the biggest weapon." He won his point and swung the others into line. Frisselle outlined strategy —to hire good lawyers and fight strike leaders through the courts and into state prison. That took money. "The farmer," wealthy Frisselle said to the other wealthy representatives of corporate farming, "hasn't got the money to do it. He'll have to get it largely from the industries, bankers, shippers, oil companies, who will be greatly hit if this red organization succeeds."

Colbert Caldwell of the 1938 San Francisco employers' Committee of Forty-three, Leonard Wood of Calpak and Earl Fisher of Pacific Gas & Electric were named for the fund-raising committee. That they did fairly well is evidenced by records of the California Railroad Commission which forces utilities to list donations.[10] What was more natural than that P.G.&E., Southern Pacific, Southern California Edison, Santa Fe, Union Pacific, and Western Pacific should donate—and heavily—to creation of a farmers' organi-

Acres Owned by Twenty-One California Corporations

California Delta Farms, Inc.	6,440
California Packing Corp. (orchards)	20,000
Diamond Ranch, Inc. (North Counties Land & Cattle Co.)	51,067
DiGiorgio Fruit Corp. (only California holdings included)	15,229
Earl Fruit Co. (subsidiary of DiGiorgio)	17,556
Empire Farms	6,000
Farm Land Investment Co.	3,538
Holland Land Co.	4,213
Kern County Land Co. (only California holdings included)	409,594
Marysville River Farms	1,750
McDonald Island Farms, Ltd.	3,423
Midstate Horticultural Co.	3,386
Miller & Lux (only California holdings included)	111,893
Productive Properties, Ltd.	6,142
Rancho Mira Loma (Charles Stern & Co., Ltd.)	1,857
River Farms Co. (Hiram Johnson, Jr., director)	31,000
Sunny Hills Ranch, Inc. (Bastanchury Ranch)	2,650
Sutter Buttes Land Co. (Alameda Farms Co.)	8,511
Transamerica Corp. (California Lands, Inc.)	500,000
Valley Agricultural Co. (Lucerne Vineyards, etc.)	4,404
San Diego County Water Co.	46,000
Total Acres	1,254,653

Land ownership only is tabulated. Other farm interests include canal companies, wineries, canneries, etc. (*Walker's* Pacific Coast securities statistics)

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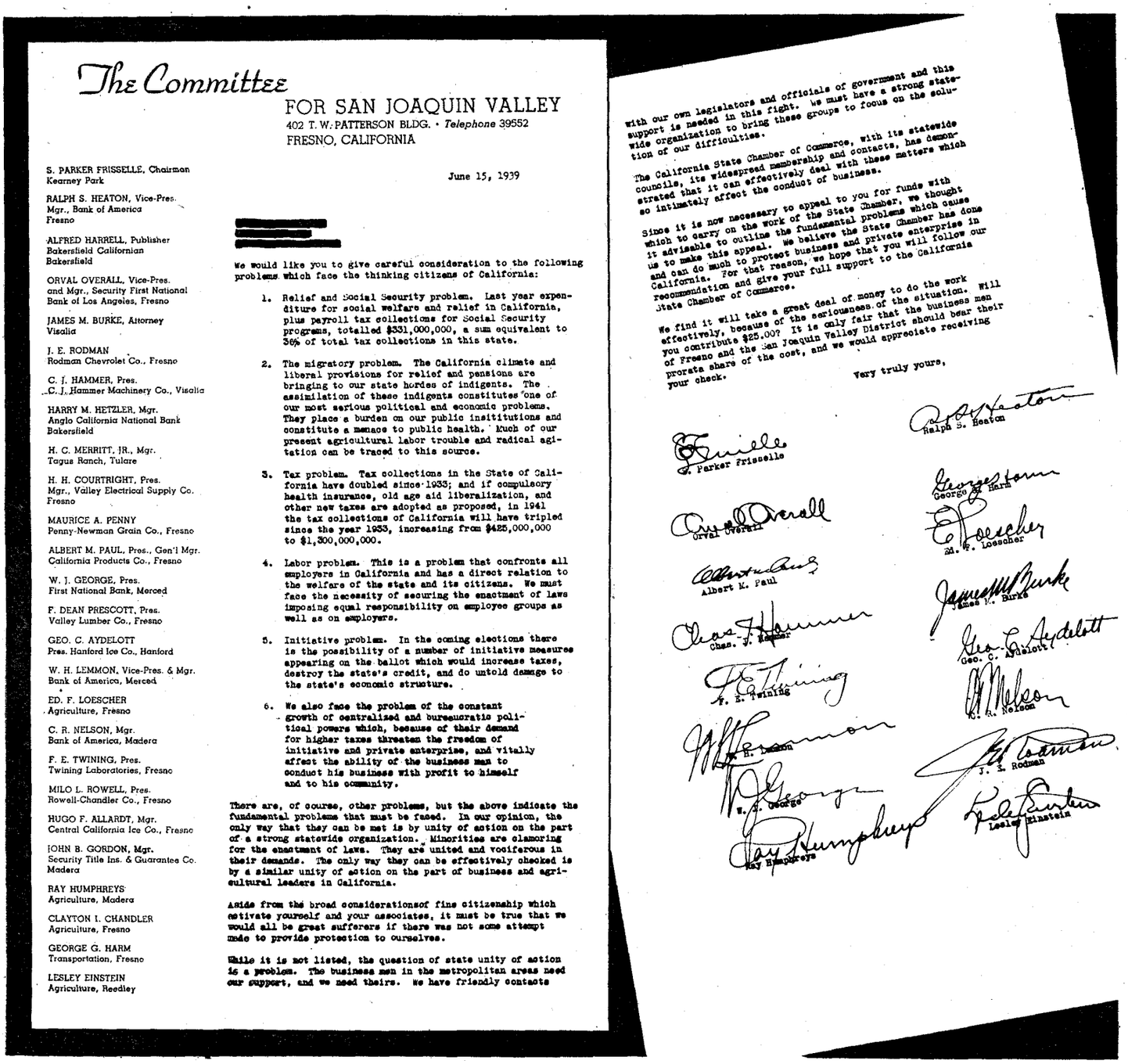

The Committee

FOR SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

402 T. W. PATTERSON BLDG. • *Telephone* 39552
FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

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Transportation, Fresno

LESLEY EINSTEIN
Agriculture, Reedley

June 15, 1939

[redacted]

We would like you to give careful consideration to the following problems which face the thinking citizens of California:

1. Relief and Social Security problem. Last year expenditure for social welfare and relief in California, plus payroll tax collections for Social Security programs, totalled $331,000,000, a sum equivalent to 36% of total tax collections in this state.

2. The migratory problem. The California climate and liberal provisions for relief and pensions are bringing to our state hordes of indigents. The assimilation of these indigents constitutes one of our most serious political and economic problems. They place a burden on our public insititutions and constitute a menace to public health. Much of our present agricultural labor trouble and radical agitation can be traced to this source.

3. Tax problem. Tax collections in the State of California have doubled since 1933; and if compulsory health insurance, old age aid liberalization, and other new taxes are adopted as proposed, in 1941 the tax collections of California will have tripled since the year 1933, increasing from $425,000,000 to $1,300,000,000.

4. Labor problem. This is a problem that confronts all employers in California and has a direct relation to the welfare of the state and its citizens. We must face the necessity of securing the enactment of laws imposing equal responsibility on employee groups as well as on employers.

5. Initiative problem. In the coming elections there is the possibility of a number of initiative measures appearing on the ballot which would increase taxes, destroy the state's credit, and do untold damage to the state's economic structure.

6. We also face the problem of the constant growth of centralized and bureaucratic political powers which, because of their demand for higher taxes threaten the freedom of initiative and private enterprise, and vitally affect the ability of the business man to conduct his business with profit to himself and to his community.

There are, of course, other problems, but the above indicate the fundamental problems that must be faced. In our opinion, the only way that they can be met is by unity of action on the part of a strong statewide organization. Minorities are clamoring for the enactment of laws. They are united and vociferous in their demands. The only way they can be effectively checked is by a similar unity of action on the part of business and agricultural leaders in California.

Aside from the broad considerationsof fine citizenship which activate yourself and your associates, it must be true that we would all be great sufferers if there was not some attempt made to provide protection to ourselves.

While it is not listed, the question of state unity of action is a problem. The business men in the metropolitan areas need our support, and we need theirs. We have friendly contacts with our own legislators and officials of government and this support is needed in this fight. We must have a strong statewide organization to bring these groups to focus on the solution of our difficulties.

The California State Chamber of Commerce, with its statewide councils, its widespread membership and contacts, has demonstrated that it can effectively deal with these matters which so intimately affect the conduct of business.

Since it is now necessary to appeal to you for funds with which to carry on the work of the State Chamber, we thought it advisable to outline the fundamental problems which cause us to make this appeal. We believe the State Chamber has done and can do much to protect business and private enterprise in California. For that reason, we hope that you will follow our recommendation and give your full support to the California State Chamber of Commerce.

We find it will take a great deal of money to do the work effectively, because of the seriousness of the situation. Will you contribute $25.00? It is only fair that the business men of Fresno and the San Joaquin Valley District should bear their prorata share of the cost, and we would appreciate receiving your check.

Very truly yours,

Ralph S. Heaton
S. Parker Frisselle
Georges G. Harm
Orval Overall
M. F. Loescher
Albert M. Paul
James M. Burke
Chas. J. Hammer
Geo. C. Aydelott
F. E. Twining
C. R. Nelson
W. H. Lemmon
J. E. Rodman
W. J. George
Lesley Einstein
Ray Humphreys

THE FORCES OF REACTION. *As fine a round robin of enemies of the American people as you could wish can be found on this appeal for funds to fight the present people's program of the state of California and sabotage any future acts by the elected government to curb the feudal lords of the valley. It is this cabal that is responsible for the conditions Steinbeck revealed in "The Grapes of Wrath." It is this cabal that now conspires to overthrow the hard-won rights of the agricultural and cannery workers of California.*

zation? That ample funds came from other sources must await proof by the La Follette committee.

AF STARTS

The first organizational meeting of the Associated Farmers took place on May 7, 1934, in Fresno. On May 10, City Attorney A. J. Carlson of Modesto introduced an emergency ordinance "for preservation of public peace, health and safety" and against "professional agitators." The machinery had started to click. That was the first of the anti-picketing ordinances quietly passed by local boards of supervisors. Except for a few counties where labor is strong, these ordinances now blanket the state.

In June 1934 the Cannery & Agricultural Workers Industrial Union led its last strike. Violence flared in Brentwood's apricot orchards and on the San Francisco waterfront. In Associated Farmers literature as well as shipowner-controlled city press the Red Menace was officially launched, barreled across the sky to balloon proportions. On July 5, "Bloody Thursday" on the waterfront culminated in the General Strike. On July 20, eight agricultural organizers were sentenced to the penitentiary on charges of conspiracy to commit criminal syndicalism. Their self-acclaimed prosecutor was Associated Farmers, Inc.

From June 1934 through the fall of 1936, first period of its development, Associated Farmers, Inc. had its hands full. Anti-picketing ordinances meant personnel for enforcement. This meant coordination of county sheriffs, district attorneys, Farm Bureau local officialdom, Bank of America branch managers, packing house and ranch foremen. The last vestiges of organized outbreak needed suppression.[11] This meant corps of armed vigilantes, gathered mostly from the rural periphery in the towns. But most important of all was the development of a propaganda

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technique which could gather momentum, move cityward with an irate rural citizenry leading the parade.

"From Apathy to Action" became the fiery slogan, printed on the masthead of their official bulletin. A March 1936 issue said: "For those who may have forgotten and for those who have yet to learn: Communism stands for hatred of God and all forms of religion, destruction of private property and inheritance, promotion of class hatred. Memorize these few lines and keep them ever before you." Everything was geared to one theme—*Red Menace, Communism.* Interwoven was: "Our farms are our homes; if you picket our farms you picket our homes." "We pay the highest wages in the United States," with no mention of annual wage income. "Give us a decent price for our produce and we'll pay better wages; you can't squeeze blood from a turnip."

Everything was geared now to the ten-acre ranch, everything done in the name of the "marginal" farmer, the rugged, the independent, pioneer-spirited mule-and-plow farmer. Until gradually their theme evolved into: Communism equals unions. Then—Communism equals CIO unions. Then—Communism equals CIO equals Harry Bridges. Then—Communism equals Bridges equals goon squads (thank God for Dave Beck) equals waterfront. Until finally—Communism equals CIO equals New Deal equals Roosevelt, equals Moscow, equals overthrow-of-the-government-by-force-and-violence, equals John L. Lewis, equals waterfront, equals "the march inland," equals appropriation of *your* farm, equals destruction.

Until the word Communism, indelibly linked to labor organization, would have crept into every ten-acre ranch, aroused terror in the heart of every tight-knit rural community, whipped this terror into a holy crusade. If it worked, everything would be jake. No danger of protest against bank foreclosures, high power and water rates. No more stupid talk of a one-house legislature, eliminating the present reactionary senate, no more talk about cost of production. All the talk—if it worked—about ghost towns, the highways being blocked by Bridges goon squads, the union label forced on each bale of hay, each cow. City and country divided. Everything ready for the attack from the rear. The small, down-at-the-heel "marginal" farmers to do the dirty work.

HELEN HOSMER.

Reference

[1] Fifty percent of state's fancy canned fruit and 30 percent of its general fruit are packed in this valley.

[2] California produces 58 percent of wine consumed in U. S., 93 percent of nation's grapes—$43,108,000 worth, covering half a million acres, part of it dry-wine grapes in coastal counties. Cotton production in 1937 was 738,000 bales valued at almost $32,000,000.

[3] 102,500 acres of lettuce, valued at $23,730,000 produced in 1937.

As of 1935, 30 percent of nation's large-scale cotton farms, 41 percent of large-scale dairy farms, 44 percent of large-scale general farms, 53 percent of large-scale poultry farms, 60 percent of large-scale fruit groves and vineyards are located in California. California ships a third of the nation's truck crop, half of its fresh fruit, nearly all its dried fruit, 70 percent of its canned fruit and vegetables. See *Preliminary Economic Survey of California Agriculture,* published by the Lubin Society, 1937.

[5] Of all persons gainfully employed in California agriculture (1930), 57.3 percent were wage earners, compared with 26.1 percent for nation as a whole. Figure undoubtedly greater now. In cotton, less than 5 percent of farms are large-scale, but they pay 40.5 percent of all wages paid. Only 7 percent of truck farms are large-scale, but they pay 56.4 percent of wages paid.

[6] California Prorate Act and Desmond Act, designed legally and systematically to eliminate small growers from picture. See "Plowing Under Dirt Farmer," *Black & White Magazine,* and "The Prorate Racket," *Rural Observer,* issue for February 1939, also *The Legislature Forecloses,* pamphlet of the Lubin Society, published in August 1939. In 1925 there were 32,879 apple growers, in 1935 there were 13,728. In the same ten years the number of peach growers dropped from 40,113 to 18,888, pear growers from 29,766 to 13,060, and grape growers from 42,928 to 28,328.

[7] California chapter of the Farmers Union is dead. Vince Garrod holds a charter through paper membership made up of chain-store officials, chamber of commerce men, etc. Garrod has loaned name of Farmers Union for endorsement of all manner of reactionary bills, is virtually "office boy" for Associated Farmers.

[8] Report of National Labor Board by Special Commission, Feb. 11, 1934. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

[9] "The Imperial Valley Farm Labor Situation: Report of Special Investigating Committee appointed at request of the California State Board of Agriculture, California Farm Bureau Federation (Agriculture Section), State Chamber of Commerce, Sacramento, California. April 16, 1934."

[10] For chart showing dates and amounts of donations see *Who Are the Associated Farmers?* published by the Lubin Society, 1938. In Oregon, Associated Farmers spent $32,336 to finance the anti-labor initiative, passed in that state. Of that sum, $32,336 came from the Oregon Business Council, creature of one Horace Mecklem, Portland agent for the New England Mutual Life Insurance Co.

[11] For outline on history of vigilantism and strikebreaking led by Associated Farmers see *Farm Tenancy Report—submitted to President's Farm Tenancy Committee,* by the Lubin Society, 1937. See also *Associated Farmers,* report by Institute of Propaganda Analysis, 1939. See also *Factories in the Field,* by Carey McWilliams.

My Telephoto Album

ALL I know about the war is what I see in the telephotos. As far as picture captions go this is certainly a bewildering war. I picked up the *World-Telegram* for September 25 and there on the front page was the first visible evidence of British operations, DIRECT HIT BY ALLIES ON GERMAN BRIDGE, which gave "a more vivid idea of the progress made by the English and French than hundreds of guarded words in an official communique." But, poof, the next day the *Herald Tribune* had the same picture of a "bridge over the Moselle River near the Luxembourg town of Schengen, blown up by the Germans." Other papers reported that the bridge had been mined. All I can gather from this is that somewhere in Europe there is a bridge busted down.

There was a wonderful Polish woman in the papers one day last week, with a white shawl over her head, standing in front of a ruined building. The *Post's* retoucher had given her a madonna-like face and the information was supplied that she was standing in front "of her ruined home after the Germans had passed." In an hour the *Journal and American* had worked her up to four columns with retouching by the Hearst school—wrinkles and artistic airbrush work. By this time the Polish woman had lost her husband and children "in an air raid shortly before the picture was taken."

The assassination of Premier Calinescu of Rumania provided real work for the imaginative caption writer and retoucher. From Rumania had come a picture of the scene of the crime, with the Premier's car in the background, rammed into the peasant's cart used by the assassins. The *Mirror* got on the streets first with the picture and prominently in the foreground was the shrouded body of Calinescu's "bodyguard." In a few minutes the *News* truck dropped off its first edition with the same picture, but this time the body had become a "slain police agent." By 11:45, when the *Times* appears, I was ready for anything. But not for what the *Times* retouchers had wrought. Here was the same picture, without any body at all.

JAMES DUGAN.

Another Admission

"THAT the Russian Armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace. . . . Russia has warned Hitler off his Eastern dreams."—Winston Churchill.

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The Informer

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has a few words to say about Ben Gitlow, the ex-revolutionist who turned rat. Jewels from Russia and no carfare. From Lusk to Dies.

BEN GITLOW, you were my friend twenty years ago. Your mother was my friend. I would have cut off my right hand rather than pen the words "liar and traitor" about you then. I am sorry now for your mother, but maybe she is still blinded to your faults. I love my own son, but I would rather see him with the boys who died in Spain than see him do what you have done, testify against the Communist Party before the Dies committee and be thanked by the enemies of our class for the services you performed. My son met you at Harry Winitsky's funeral. I am proud of my son that he did not speak to you. It isn't a question of being a Communist. My son is not, at least not a party member. If I were not a party member, if I were still an IWW—a syndicalist—I would despise you just as deeply, as all good trade unionists do and as all decent Socialists do, as all plain simple workers conscious of their class, despise you, yes, as anarchists do who are workers.

TWENTY YEARS AGO

Twenty years ago I was not a Communist. You were, or professed to be—a founder, a leader, a spokesman of the party. You were expelled from your union and we made you a hero. You were a leader of the left-wing group in the old Socialist Party, which drew up the flaming manifestos. You were arrested under the Criminal Anarchy Law in New York State. There was a "Lusk committee" then, like the Dies committee now. They collected "evidence" against you from stool pigeons, who talked just as you do now. They whipped up prejudice against you. The District Attorney in his final speech to the jury accused you of being an agent of Russia, "plotting to make America a red ruby to place in the crown of Lenin." Your group, the Communist Labor Party, was not very strong. They had no money. I was organizer of the Workers' Defense Union, which aided and defended you. We raised thousands of dollars for your defense, and that of Winitsky, Ruthenberg, and others. I admired you and sorrowed deeply when you were sent to prison for five to ten years, under the barrage of the Lusk committee. You never had much to say, so I thought you were one of these strong silent men, big and impressive, who speaks only occasional words of wisdom. Now I wonder if instead you were silent because you had nothing worth saying. But when I think of you and Carlo Tresca and Gene Lyons, I can understand the resentment against the myth of calling traitors and wreckers in the Soviet Union "old Bolsheviks," and I understand better how deeply they hate Trotsky there. Because it's the way I feel toward you three. One is on guard against a known enemy, an out and out foe—but the serpent warmed in one's bosom is another matter. You make me feel like writing an apology to all workers I ever caused to trust you. I'll call it "Skunks I Have Known"; I was young and idealistic, my sense of smell wasn't developed politically, apparently. Too bad words like "liar and traitor" are overworked and weak. Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold were traitors and more. Harry Orchard and James McParlan, who tried to frame up Moyer and Haywood, the same McParlan who sent to the gallows the "Molly Maguires," need a stronger word than *liar,* and so do you. Because you are trying to do today, out of jealousy, revenge, thwarted ambition, and I know not what other secret motives, to innocent men and women, your erstwhile comrades, just what was done to you. You who were the victim of a frameup are now turning your hand to frame others. A shameful spectacle!

Twenty years ago was before the "United Front." You condescended however to treat me as a comrade, though I was a misguided syndicalist. I knew all the inner affairs of your party, the Communist Labor Party, I was their trusted aide, and was equally trusted by the Communist Party of that day. I often served as a bridge in defense and deportation work, to join their efforts. You cannot deny that the Workers' Defense Union worked hard, night and day, for your defense. Henry Fruchter was our secretary. He is your brother-in-law. The Gitlows didn't like him. They called him a "yellow Socialist." At least he was consistent and didn't testify to Mr. Dies. We raised money for bail, for lawyers, for briefs, for appeals, for circulars, for meetings. I personally knocked on union doors, cold winter days and hot summer nights, to make my pleas for your defense. I visited you in Sing Sing and Auburn Prison. I'm not telling this to be boastful, but so the reader will know I speak with authority about you. Now you say jewels came here from the Soviet Union, thousands of dollars' worth, for party use. I ask you, Ben Gitlow, where were the "jewels" then? Where was the Moscow gold?

You and Harry were poor as church mice in those days, you lived at home with your families, you hardly had carfares, your clothes were shabby. You struggled to pay the printers and the landlord. Where were the rubies and pearls? Then when you and Harry Winitsky came out of prison and started to work on the *Freiheit,* I remember your wives were growling because you had no money for rent, food, or clothes and they had to go to work. Where were the diamonds then? You surely could have used even a few little ones!

The only "big money" I ever saw flow into left-wing labor circles was from that fantastic setup "The American Fund for Public Service," of which I was the secretary for a time. When some of the liberals eased Bill Foster out, on the pretext of "non-attendance," I proposed you as a member of the board, so the Communists would be represented. We spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in one year because Charlie Garland insisted it be spent quickly. A lot went into Communist channels. This is no secret, it's printed in the published annual reports, with your name and mine among the signatures. Papers, schools, unions, strikes, defense were helped. A lot of it went into struggles of the miners and the fur workers. Possibly John Brophy was involved in some of the miners' struggles. That's the nearest I know of Brophy receiving money from "Communist" sources—when you voted *Yes* on these appropriations. It wasn't Russian gold; it was the fortune of a hard-headed American business man, well invested, who left it to a social-minded son. He allowed us to play Santa Claus to "worthy causes." I frankly used my powers of persuasion for extreme "left" organizations. Besides this money, all I ever saw in those days among the Communists, and I was a privileged fellow traveler, were nickels, dimes, and dollars of workers, which we all helped to raise. I am amply qualified to brand your tale of jewels as an outright lie, of my own personal knowledge and from my intimate contact with Communist affairs. I was not then a party member. I joined in 1937 and am proud to be a member today. Nobody asked me to write this article. I wired the editor offering it because I cannot keep silent and allow your vicious attack to go unrebuked by one who was once your friend and fellow member of the Workers' Defense Union and the Garland Fund. This is a free will offering, to truth and honesty.

FROM BUILDER TO WRECKER

Maybe you won't enjoy knowing today that you gave me the shove which finally brought me into the party. It was at the dinner to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of my first speech, held in 1926. I insisted you be invited to speak. You said I should stop playing around with the liberals and middle class and get back in the class struggle. Everybody there was sore at you. My father got mad and called you a "windbag"! (Now he says, "Didn't I tell you?") But I had such high regard for the Communist Party, then as now, that I accepted it as a just rebuke. I went to New Jersey the next day to enter the Passaic textile strike. I do not regret the advice or my decision. It's just too bad you didn't take your own advice or were not animated by a regard for the approval of your party, as I, a non-party person, was. A year

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later, when I returned from the West, you were in an opposition group. I had been ill and inactive. You contacted me immediately, presuming I would be swayed by my friendship and trust in you and Harry. But what saved me from a fatal blunder was that I could not stomach your crony, Jay Lovestone. That's why I investigated further. You and Harry shielded Lovestone when I demanded to know why he testified as a state's witness against Harry Winitsky and convicted him by his ultra-leftist stand. I never got a satisfactory explanation. His subsequent record substantiates my disgust. When I finally returned East, after several years, I found you and Harry had split with Lovestone and with each other. You had landed in that last refuge of disgruntled and discarded radicals today, the Socialist Party, a ghost of its former self, as a result. Stewing in your own juice, embittered and egocentric, your grievances and importance have increased in your own mind, until finally you put your feet on the toboggan slide from which no traveler ever returns—to be an informer, wrecker, stool pigeon, party to a frameup of those who were once your own people. You stand today in the same category with Diamond and Coates, the self-confessed paid agents of the bosses in California, who testified up and down the coast in trials of IWW's telling of the "crimes" they had themselves committed as IWW members. Finally, after many IWW's had gone to prison, no jury believed their lurid tales. Investigation proved there never were the "fires" and acts of sabotage they confessed to. So it will be with you and your accusations of "crimes" committed by Communists. Will you enjoy and be well paid for being a government witness against us when you may be called upon to prove the accusations?

THE PACT ALIBI

But the biggest lie of all was to say you would not have testified if it were not for the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Because several months ago a publishing company in New York announced a forthcoming book called *I Confess* by yourself to be out this fall, a companion tale to Lyons' self-"assignment" to a Moscow cafe to find Utopia. We may next expect a request for police protection against the Reds, in line with Tresca's fantasies about murder on the mall by bearded Soviet sailors. He was far more in danger from outraged, irate husbands than from Communist agents all the time I knew him! But safe now from both!

No, the worst punishment to overtake you, Ben Gitlow, and from which no one can save you, is that you will have to go on living with yourself. Bad enough are the companions who will now embrace you—Isaac Don Levine, Ben Stolberg leading the procession. But the worst punishment I can wish for you is to face yourself as you really are today. Let me tell you in just anger and in sorrow what I think you will find revealed as you examine yourself. A traitor to a cause for which he was once a martyr; a spy who had once the unbounded love and admiration of working people; a revolutionist who turned rat; a self-centered, egotistical individual, consumed by envy and thwarted ambition, who was incapable of adapting himself to world-wide historic changes—too lazy to try—and who blames everyone but the one responsible: his sulking and sour self.

The last question, which insists upon occupying my mind and will not be dismissed and no shadow of now dead old-time friendship will overcome, is: were you really ever the man we thought you were? Were you ever any different? Were you always what you are today? This is the final judgment your actions drive me to—that within your makeup always lurked the corroding poisons so evident today, and that the Ben Gitlow of twenty years ago was the creature of our sympathetic imaginations. Ben Gitlow of yesterday, real or imagined, is dead, never to return. The coffin lid is clamped down as far as I am concerned. I say to my revolutionary soul, take it away before its odors overcome you. We have our work to do. The Red Army is marching! Socialism moves on Europe! Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we are moving forward. Let the dead past bury its dead!

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

Stork Club Plenum

WHAT the statesmen of Europe have failed to do to outlaw war, Mr. Sherman Billingsley of the Stork Club has done. Tension in the Stork, or the American Parnassus, or the American Academy of Arts, Letters, and Park Avenue, had reached the fever stage last week. The war of nerves had reached such proportions that border incidents between the ringsiders and the suckers threatened to reduce civilization as Stork Clubbers know it to a veritable shambles. The latest and most alarming incident occurred when a Mr. Solomon attempted to anschluss some young ladies with a Mr. George White. Mr. White attempted a quick Blitzkrieg and the battle was on.

Mr. Billingsley had to act and act quick. He proceeded to quarantine the aggressors in a decree exiling from the Stork all parties who had ever engaged in night club fights. Europe may go up in a cloud of smoke but the Stork Club will muddle on. The debs will rip off each other's Chanel rigs to get at the balloons, the velvet rope will conceal the bar of gold, and Mr. Billingsley will reign in peace over his Olympus of ballyhoo.

Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"On the other hand, suppose Mr. Dies CAN'T outlaw the Communists and the labor unions and the year 1940."

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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Advertising Manager ERIC BERNAY.
Promotion Manager H. C. ADAMSON.

★

(Continued from page 7)

Party should be dissolved, but the *"government should find a formula for such action without destroying ordinary civil liberties."* This is a contradiction in terms. Democracy is not divisible: you cannot have it for B if you abstract it from A. That is the lesson of modern history, and woe to those who have not learned that.

Time is short. As we point out above, the people are alarmed. Various groups ponder the problem of safeguarding their rights. But unfortunately, they think in groups, not in national terms. They do not clearly see that the rights of one cannot be saved if the rights of another are sacrificed. Unity is needed, and an end to red-baiting. The logic of the defense of civil rights will drive that moral home to the American people. Unity in defense of the Bill of Rights safeguards democracy, clothes with reality the slogan "Keep America Out of War." Otherwise the warmakers gain their ends and democracy dies. That is the inexorable law of politics in today's world.

Neutrality Barrage

THE Great Debate has started—a debate over a pitifully small issue. The present Neutrality Act will not keep America out of the imperialist war. The cash-and-carry bill sponsored by the Roosevelt Administration will not keep America out of the imperialist war. Only vigorous action by the American people to curb the war profiteers, to prevent this country from giving any assistance, economic or political, to either side in the imperialist conflict, and to protect civil liberties and the hard-won social gains of the New Deal can keep America out of war. That is why the debate over the Neutrality Act loses all meaning except as it expresses the determination of big business interests to pluck what profits they can no matter how greatly the peace of the United States may be jeopardized.

"By selling war supplies to any nation that can send for them, pay for them and take them away," the New York *Daily News* stated on October 2, "we shall tune up our factories and keep them tuned up against a time when we may have to use their products for our own defense." Arthur Krock recently wrote in similar vein in the New York *Times*. This is the attitude not of people who are working for peace, but preparing for war. They are "tuning up."

NEW MASSES advocated revision of the Neutrality Act at a time when revision had a progressive meaning because of the possibility of creating a genuine peace front, including the Soviet Union. That peace front was blocked by the British and French governments because it ran counter to their imperialist interests. It is these imperialist interests, not hostility to fascism, that motivate their present war against Germany, just as it is imperialist interests, not concern for the German population of Danzig, that motivate Germany's war against Britain and France. That is why the whole Neutrality Act issue has lost its former meaning. The entrance of the du Ponts into the fight on the side of the revisionists through their spokesman, Al (Liberty League) Smith, is further proof that profits not peace are the goal of the leaders of this debate.

The fact is that neither the Neutrality Act nor any revision is as great a menace to America's peace as are the activities of the Dies committee or the profiteering orgy which Wall Street's plunderbund is seeking. It is against these perils that the energies of all who cherish democracy and peace should be directed.

War and Labor

AMERICAN labor hefts the main burden of keeping this country out of the war; others will talk neutrality but labor must enforce it. Two war factors menace the working class, even while we are nominally at peace: the assault on civil liberties led by Mr. Dies, and the wreck of bitterly won wage gains by a rising cost of living. The failure to battle these two reactionary trends will push labor backward on the road to war. The AFL and CIO conventions this year must meet the task vigorously. The AFL Executive Council report on the eve of the fifty-ninth convention at Cincinnati was sensitive to these questions but lamentably inaccurate and evasive in offering a battle plan. The report calls for real neutrality but indicates in the next breath completely false grounds for neutrality, when it whitewashes the predatory war aims of the Chamberlain-Bonnet gang and couples the USSR with German fascism. The council condemns anti-labor legislation in the last Congress but fails to identify the reactionary forces and does not mention the fact that much of this legislation was jammed through to the tune of complete silence from the AFL leadership. Labor unity is mentioned in passing but no specific is listed.

Both labor bodies have the paramount task of combating Martin Dies' campaign against the Constitution. Dies' anti-labor and anti-New Deal objectives are flying the flag of anti-Bolshevism. To fall for his crude reactionary plot, to assist him in a labor Munich by sacrificing the most militant section of American labor will bring conservative labor leaders quickly to their own Waterloo. The fact that Dies mentions the fantastic figure of 2,800 "Communists" in government positions should indicate how many thousands of progressive Americans he has singled out as "Reds."

The Peace Offer

GERMANY offered peace to the Allied powers last week. The Soviet Union supported this offer, proceeding from its defense of the working people of all countries, hard upon the heels of diplomatic victories in the Balkans and the Baltics against both adversaries in the war. It must be borne in mind that this peace offer comes at a time when the political and strategic position of Germany is weaker than it was before the war and the position of the USSR stronger. Anglo-French imperialism is likewise weaker in relation to the USSR, which has now erected barriers to both imperialist groups in the Balkans and the Baltic.

It is still too soon to say whether the offer will be accepted. Churchill turned it down, revealing thereby how sinister and thoroughgoing the war against Germany will become should Churchill come to the helm in England. Wall Street also turned the offer down, as did the stock exchanges in all neutral Europe. The New York *Times* for October 1 sighs with relief "that security and commodity markets resumed their war pattern, and stocks were bid as much as six points as traders cast aside any thoughts that the Allies would accede to the Soviet-German peace proposals."

But the peoples of Europe, plumbing deeply into their minds and consciences, should ask: "What is it that we are fighting for? To resurrect the landlord state of Poland? to reward the generals who snatched defeat from victory? to reconstitute the boundaries which Pilsudski grasped from Lenin nineteen years ago? to save, not democracy, but the interests of British and French imperialism, which, like German imperialism, are the enemies of democracy?"

But irrespective of whether such questions are immediately answered in Europe in the interests of all the peoples concerned, they have major significance for the United States. Obviously, peace in Europe today would squelch every reactionary force that comes up from the sewers of capitalist life at the smell of blood. Peace in Europe would throw a monkey wrench into Martin Dies' chariot of ill fame. A tremor of relief would pass through the whole continent; the plain people everywhere would take hope and courage. Peace at this moment, when the Soviet Union emerges in full strength on the diplomatic battleground, would guarantee neither another Munich nor another Versailles. And indeed, if peace is not established now, history may record that the peoples of Europe snatched the scepter of war from their own warmakers, establishing peace on a secure foundation, certain for all the ages.

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Hitler and German Imperialism

Karl Billinger examines the origin and character of German fascism in a book which throws light on the war. Anatomy of "Mein Kampf."

HITLER IS NO FOOL, *by Karl Billinger. Modern Age. 50 cents.*

KARL BILLINGER'S *Fatherland* struck the civilized world like a bolt of lightning five years ago. There have been many brave books by victims of Nazi barbarism—one recalls the expressive titles: *Rubber Truncheon, Savage Symphony, Escape to Life, The Day Is Coming*—and each has left its mark on the mind of humanity. *Fatherland* left the earliest and deepest impression. It made the incredible real. With Billinger we felt the lash and suffered the indignity inflicted upon us by the Storm Troopers at Tempelhof and Hubertshof. With him we were sustained by the knowledge of our solidarity with the anti-fascists both inside and outside the concentration camps. For the book was not a mere recital of horrors, though horrors there were aplenty. "Tightlipped," Lincoln Steffens called *Fatherland;* and its discipline and hope, its implicit plea for the survival of human values, fortified our resolve to rid Germany and the world of fascism.

Five years have passed, five long years in which the horrors have multiplied and our resolution has become more firm. Every intelligent human being the world over now knows the tragic story which Karl Billinger was among the first to tell truthfully. With this welcome change in public opinion, the problem of the anti-fascist writer has become more complex. He must dismiss the delusion that Hitler is a "madman" and a "fool." He must correct the tendency of uncritical minds to express contempt for the German people because they "put up" with this "maniac." He must counteract the propaganda of Hitler which seeks to equate Hitlerism with the German people despite the obvious fact that Hitlerism is the enemy of the German people. And above all, the anti-fascist writer must explain the origin and nature of a program which is not a personal whim but a carefully calculated strategy of imperialist domination. Billinger's new book is intended to convince the man on the street that Hitler is not a fool but an uncommonly shrewd politician—an infinitely more dangerous species; that Hitler is not a spokesman for Germany but for the powerful economic oligarchy which today rules Germany. Hitlerism is the special form of German imperialism in the present war—that is the major implication of Billinger's book.

Two types of historical theory have plagued most writers on the subject of fascism. The Great Man theory, popularized by Carlyle in the nineteenth century, reduces the complexities of politics and economics to the conveniently simple fiction that history is molded by Leaders. People who talk of fascism as a "one man show" are inadvertently parroting the Leader principle, which is the keystone of fascism's official pseudo-science. The apparent opposite of this view, but its actual counterpart, is the doctrine of economic determinism, frequently confused with Marxism. People who say that "it's all a matter of economics" or "fascism is inevitable" are echoing the mechanical fatalism of a theory which pretends to explain all historical events in terms of blind forces over which men have no measure of control. Neither of these theories is capable of analyzing fascism, or any other social phenomenon for that matter. Billinger adopts the scientific view of historical materialism, or Marxism, which emphasizes the economic basis of historical change at the same time that it stresses the importance of other factors, particularly the role of the people in determining the direction of affairs. Through this approach Billinger achieves a unified picture of fascism without sacrificing the complexity of forces that must enter into the picture.

The son of Alois Schicklgruber, minor Austrian customs official, is certainly one of these forces. Billinger strips the supernatural legend which Hitler's ministers of "enlightenment" have created for their miserable demi-god. He reviews the story of the despised art student who flunked the entrance examinations of the Vienna Academy, the fanatical *petit bourgeois* who was warned by his fellows on a construction job "either to leave the building at once or be thrown from the scaffolding" (as he tells us in *Mein Kampf*), the divinity whose clothes were deloused in Vienna flophouses (as we are told by the draftsman Reinhold Hanisch, his indiscreet companion of those days), the bohemian-frocked painter of postcards, the moody subcorporal in the Bavarian Army who awarded himself an Iron Cross for bravery many years later. Through all these years he could do nothing well but hate: "Not a single word expressing pleasure in living is to be found in his writing. Not a single suggestion that he had a friend or ever loved a girl. . . . He hates everyone. And now he finds the object on which to concentrate: the Jews. In hating the Jews he hates all the unpleasantness of his ruined existence." Billinger's plausible and ironic interpretation of the available biographical facts explains the personal basis of Hitler's contempt for democracy, culture, and ordinary human decency.

Far more important, however, is Billinger's analysis of the convergence of this personal bias with the needs of German big business in the postwar years. German imperialism received a terrific setback in 1918. It was beset by contradictions of both an external and internal character: it had suffered a serious defeat at the hands of rival imperialisms, and it had lost the support of any significant portion of its own population. To regain its external power it had to rebuild some kind of mass base within the country. But the masses of people, disillusioned by the war policy, had turned against the warmakers.

The Social-Democratic government was confronted with the historic opportunity of smashing German imperialism. "Its great historical guilt," Billinger writes, "lies in the fact that it did not fulfill the promise it had given the German people. It was not equal to the task placed before it." The means of production remained in the hands of big business, though the government spoke of public ownership; the enormous landholdings of the Junkers were not divided; the Reichswehr and the judiciary were not democratized. "Thus in a few months it [the Social-Democratic government] became a prisoner of the old reactionary, imperialist forces whose destruction the majority of the German people had expected from it." Hitler was pardoned six months after his abortive putsch at Munich; but Ernst Toller, who had been a leader in the Munich Soviet Republic, was confined in strict solitary for five years. A split working class movement was no great help in such a situation.

The economic crisis intensified the dissatisfaction of the population with both the Junker-industrialist group and the Social Democracy. Resentment against the vengeful imperialist Allies flared up. Hitler, a master of demagogic political agitation, supplied the scapegoat which canalized discontent. "By stamping the Jew as the symbol of capitalism and Bolshevism, it [anti-Semitism] draws upon primitive sentiments of resistance against exploitation as well as upon fear of social revolution. Skillfully developed along these lines by fascism, anti-Semitism thus becomes an ideological link between the upper and the lower middle class, and its effects can be traced even far into the confused camp of labor." The demoralized classes hated foreign imperialisms: the Jew became an international banker. They feared social revolution: the Jew became a Marxist. They distrusted

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the Social Democracy: the Jew became a democrat. "The Jew is the common denominator to which Hitler reduced the sum total of his enemies."

Hitler provided the demagogic slogans and the nationalistic program which could, in this demoralized situation, rally the mass base required by a revived German imperialism. And he was supported up to the hilt by big business, even though there has been a great deal of jockeying for the upper hand. It was Thyssen, Jr., for example, who introduced Hitler to the Rhenish Westphalian industrialists and arranged for the plan by which 50 pfennig should go to the Nazi party for each ton of coal sold by the Coal Syndicate.

Billinger shatters the widespread fallacy that fascism has "socialized" industry. The military economy of the Third Reich and socialism "have as much in common as do prison and freedom." The policy of external aggression and the policy of internal suppression are two phases of the same plan, and the plan is dictated by the monopolists. Billinger makes a crucial distinction between the middle class *origin* of fascism's followers and the upper class *character* of the fascist regime. The concentration of wealth has been accelerated under fascism: corporate profits have increased from 5.5 billion marks in 1932 to 14.2 billion in 1937. The Dye Trust produced one-third of the chemical output in 1933; in 1937 it accounted for more than one-half. There is an interlocking directorate of the fascist state and big business. Emil Georg von Strauss has been appointed vice president of the Reichstag; he is also a director of huge armament firms like the Bavarian Motor Works and the Rhine Metal-Borsig, president of the German Air-Hansa Co., and chairman of the Board of the Bavarian Lloyd Steamship Lines. The Krupps, Thyssens, and Voeglers are powerfully entrenched, and the estates of the Junkers are heavily subsidized.

The condition of the working class and the peasantry is correspondingly worsened. The lower middle class is growing increasingly uncomfortable in its widely advertised paradise. Billinger makes a neat contrast between 1913 and 1937: "Four times as much marmalade [the hated butter and margarine substitute] consumed; four times as much champagne."

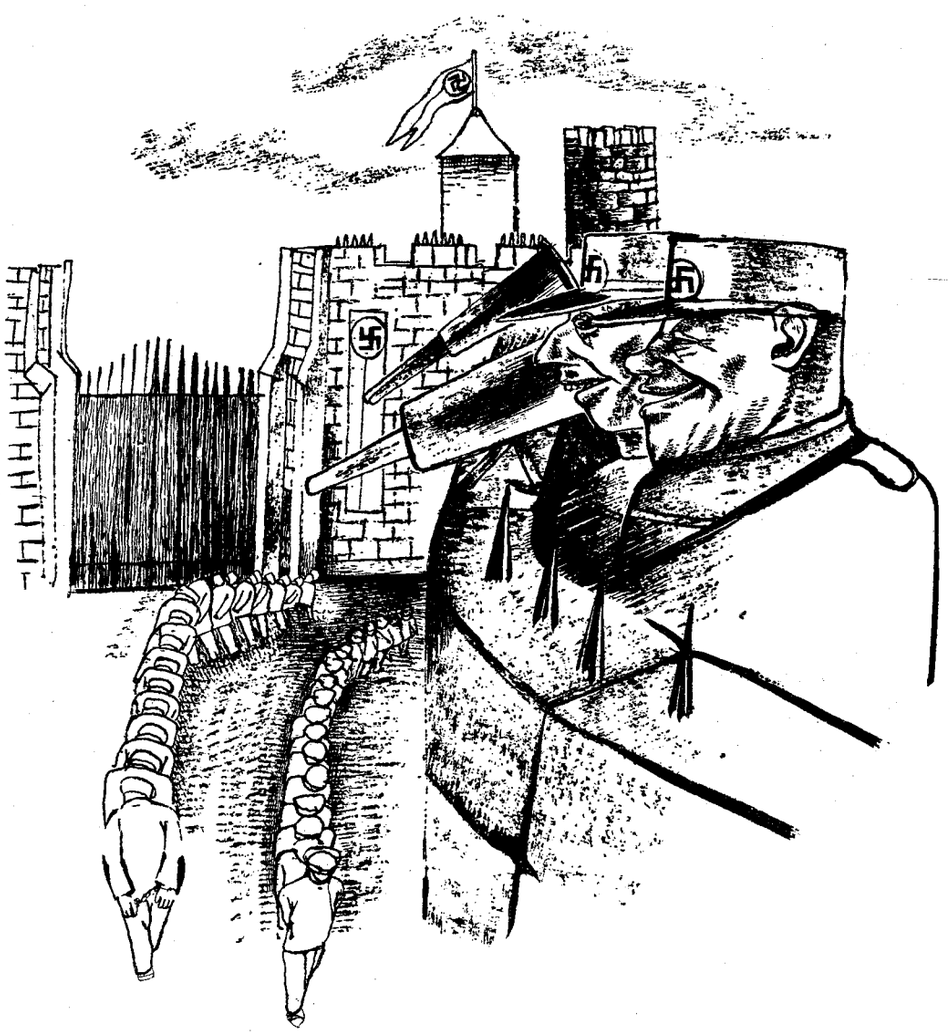
It is not from Hitler alone that the German people must be delivered, but from Hitler and the governing imperialist class which he represents.

Billinger's discussion of fascist aggression throws further light on the present war: "Just as it was the class interest of the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers that brought Hitler to power in Germany, it is the class interest of the English and French bourgeoisie which makes his triumphs in Europe possible. . . . His invincibility lies in the quaking of the Chamberlains and the Daladiers at the thought of a Socialist revolution in Germany, Italy, Spain, or wherever fascism might experience a defeat. . . . What Chamberlain had in mind at Munich was the diversion of German imperialism toward the East, in orderly gentlemanly stages, according to the tried pattern of the British robber barons." But Hitler, who in 1924 had reckoned on the imminent collapse of the Soviet Union, decided that it would be the better part of wisdom not to march against the USSR. He is "compelled by the logic of the international situation to revert to the Kaiser's policies which he so bitterly condemned in *Mein Kampf*."

He comes, in other words, into a head-on collision with British imperialism. But, as Billinger reminds us in his final chapter, written before the outbreak of war. "Tory politicians like Chamberlain and Simon, Daladier and Bonnet can scarcely be regarded as unwavering opponents of aggression and fascism. As long as these champions of 'appeasement' remain in power, there is no assurance against a new Munich." Nor, it should be added, against a new Versailles: "Any genuine support from the outside world will certainly be welcomed by the German anti-fascists. But such assistance, whether rendered in peace or war, must be genuinely democratic. A new Versailles, imposed by British and French imperialism upon a defeated Germany, would overthrow Hitler only to create a new Hitler."

These are prophetic words. Any intelligent approach to the war must take them into account. For "German fascism can be destroyed only by destroying the social order that breeds it." Not only Hitler, but the imperialist system he represents must be destroyed if Germany is to be free. I take this to be the major moral of Billinger's book. It is a moral that we dare not forget if we are to be faithful to our resolve to rid Germany and the world of fascism, our five-year-old pledge to the sufferers of *Fatherland*. "The Germans," Billinger reminds us, "are a strong and talented people. Once they enriched the culture of the world. That they were among the first to fall prey to fascism may enable them to be the first to put an end to it. They will yet rise in their power to wipe out the memory that their name was for a time besmirched with blood and barbarism."

SAMUEL SILLEN.



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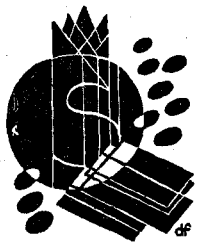

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The Real Masters

DIVIDENDS TO PAY, *by E. D. Kennedy. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.50.*

THE author of this breezily written book about America's corporations and the consequences of their predatory assault upon mass prosperity is a financial writer for the New York *Times* and has been a staff writer for *Fortune* magazine. Be not fooled, however; Mr. Kennedy knows his stuff. He has ably interpreted the causes of the crash of 1929 and the permanent depression which continues today. He also has analyzed the tendency of monopoly capital to consolidate, to transfer production from the hands of industrial capitalists to finance capitalists, to fix prices and production rates arbitrarily in order to maintain profits, and to destroy commodities for the same purpose.

Mr. Kennedy's knowledge of the inside facts about American monopoly capitalism plus his popular style make his book a contribution to a correct understanding of our business trends. *Dividends to Pay* links up the false political front of the American scene to the real masters, finance capital, proving its point in many specific ways.

LEW LEVENSON.

Liberalism

OF HUMAN FREEDOM, *by Jacques Barzun. An Atlantic Monthly Press Publication issued by Little, Brown & Co. $2.50.*

THE title of Mr. Barzun's book is a little misleading. It might more properly be called "How To Be A Liberal." More than three hundred intelligent and yet strangely boring pages are devoted to the problem. Many incidental questions are also treated—the relation of art to society, the quest for certainty in science, racial prejudice, progressive education, absolutes, and political perfectibility.

Mr. Barzun is a disciple of William James. He is going to take nothing for granted. Mention something, and its opposite immediately suggests itself to the sprightly intelligence. Therefore, what could be more philosophical than to deny both, to walk the middle of the road and come to one's goal with shiny shoes? A pragmatic course deserves a pragmatic reward. I do not think this is what James meant by pragmatism nor what Mr. Barzun wishes one to think of it, but it is what he implies in his endless succession of platitudes.

The book has an easy aphoristic style. It says so many things which, though not remarkable, can nevertheless be agreed with, that one is apt to miss an equal number of misstatements. For example, "Marxism, being anti-clerical and scientific . . . it creates the presumption that Milton and Cromwell were benighted mystics." Firstly, the presumption does not at all follow from the scientific character of Marxism, and secondly, no Marxist critic ever "created" that presumption.

Elsewhere we read, "The very notion of the classless state means that the proletariat will be forgotten as a monstrous growth which the revolution was specially designed to abolish." "Monstrous growth" reveals somewhat less of Marx's attitude to the working class than of the attitudes underlying Mr. Barzun's political philosophy.

CLARENCE WEINSTOCK.

Warning Against Fascism

THE MARCH OF FASCISM, *by Stephen Raushenbush. Yale University Press. $3.*

WHEN millions of a nation's people suffer the insecurity, poverty and humiliation brought upon them by a long-continued economic crisis, and nothing is done about it, it is an invitation to fascism that will not be refused. This book highlights those factors in the American scene that are dangerously similar to the historic causes of fascism's coming to power in Italy and Germany. We too have our army of unemployed, our divided labor movement, our intolerance of minorities, our violent past, our futureless youth, our duces and fuhrers. If our democracy is to survive in face of these, it cannot stand still. It must bulwark its civil liberties and advance rapidly to an attack upon the economic causes of the crisis. Up to this point Mr. Raushenbush's analysis is clear and forceful. When he calls for national unity to preserve and extend democracy he appeals alike to the victims of a decadent monopoly capital and to its stanchest defenders. Despite this lapse, the book is a useful warning to America at a time when our big problem is to protect the Bill of Rights and broaden the social measures that are the best defense of our national security.

M. M.

History of Jazz

JAZZMEN, *edited by Frederic Ramsey, Jr. and Charles Edward Smith. Harcourt, Brace. $2.75.*

THE public has waited for an authoritative book on jazz for a long time and *Jazzmen,* a symposium compiled by members of the Hot Record Society, fills the bill. There has been a lot of æsthetic writing and a good general introduction by Wilder Hobson in *American Jazz Music* and now a book full of accurate and original scholarship on the players and their *milieu,* with photographs and a well-constructed chronological plan, from New Orleans, 1890, to the present period.

William Russell's chapters (with Stephen Smith) on New Orleans, Louis Armstrong, and Boogie-Woogie, are models of good writing on jazz. Mr. Russell has taken the pains to search out players lost in obscurity, such as Jimmy Yancey, Willie "Bunk" Robinson, and Cow Cow Davenport, and has been able to reconstruct a clear and convincing picture of the beginning of the American jazz tradition. The discovery of Bunk, a phenomenal New Orleans Negro trumpet player of the nineties, was the key to the fabulous New Orleans days. Bunk's charming letters

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to the editors are quoted at length and a fine photo of this Storyville argonaut of hot music is included. Writing about Armstrong is a labor of love for Mr. Russell, and he has written the definitive notice on Louis' lavish gift to music.

Frederic Ramsey's chapter on King Oliver's tragic life also owes much of its telling effect to the letters of generous, kindly King Oliver, who died last year of utter neglect. Prof. Edward J. Nichols, who introduced me to Bix Biederbecke, clears away the Bix apocrypha in favor of the certifiable facts—a big job, indeed, and still full of Professor Nichols' enthusiasm.

E. Simms Campbell, the Negro cartoonist, writes about the blues, and Charles Edward Smith tells of the gang of Austin High School kids in Chicago who made the first and best white jazz. As the book moves on the writers seem to lose some of their grasp, just as the music became more complex and, to some, not so significant as that of the early days. Roger Pryor Dodge, writing on jazz critics, brushes off a lot of ignoramuses without putting forth any fundamental standards of his own. In sum, *Jazzmen* is an excellent and highly readable book, with more than a suggestion that understanding a folk art helps one to understand life. Most of these writers do understand and have made a rich and exciting book about part of our culture.

JAMES DUGAN.

The Honest Imperialists

CHAOS IN ASIA, *by Hallett Abend. Ives Washburn, Inc. $3.*

MR. ABEND, the Far Eastern correspondent of the New York *Times,* knows all the names, dates, curious cognomens, spurious aliases, gates, railroad stations and hotel lobbies in both Nippon and Cathay. Every sixteen months or so he compounds the back files of his own dispatches with the latest after-dinner anecdotes and serves them up for the carriage trade.

That is not to deny the considerable information in this volume, nor the documentation of Japan's ravages in China. But if there *is* a thesis here at all, it consists of this: had the better class of Japanese (notably Mr. Abend's friends) been running the invasion instead of the ruffians in ministerial posts, the world might feel quite differently about the matter.

None of this is said in so many words. It is concealed in the characteristic, contradictory journalese of the New York *Times* coming through in a passage like this: "The Japanese may be wrong in their methods—probably they are—but at least they are sincere. And, moreover, they are frank and honest when discussing their policies with a listener whom they believe to be not prejudiced."

Naturally, there is no discussion here of the basic imperatives which motivate the Japanese capitalist class. Nor are there many clues to those mighty realignments of forces within China that have made possible her heroic resistance and will bring her inevitable victory.

J. S.

Emma Lazarus

LETTERS TO EMMA LAZARUS, *edited by Ralph L. Rusk. Columbia University Press. $1.50.*

EMMA LAZARUS deserves to be more widely remembered. The author of the famous poetic inscription on the Statue of Liberty was born in New York, July 22, 1849, of well-to-do Jewish parents. Her early poetic efforts were imitations of conventional nineteenth century literary models and themes. The wave of anti-Semitic pogroms in Europe awakened her concern for freedom and social justice. She became a spokesman for the oppressed Jews everywhere. It was of this phase of her work that Whittier wrote: "She sings like Miriam and Deborah." The present volume is a collection of letters to Miss Lazarus in the Columbia University library. The poet knew, and corresponded with, many of the great figures of her time: Emerson, Turgeniev, Henry George, William James, James Bryce, William Morris, Browning, Lowell, and others. Among many interesting letters is one by William Morris explaining the weaknesses of the profit-sharing scheme in his own business: "Thus, you see, so accursed is the capitalist system under which we live, that even what should be the virtues of good management and thrift under its slavery do but add to the misery of our thralldom, and indeed become mere vices, and have at last the faces of cruelty and shabbiness." The volume sheds more light on Emma Lazarus' correspondents than it does on herself; but it does serve as a reminder that an adequate biography of this unusually interesting American writer is long overdue.

R. E. N.

Dreams and Dilemmas

RAIN UPON GODSHILL, *by J. B. Priestley. Harper & Bros. $3.*

THIS meditation by Priestley on the past two years of his life can be recommended only to those who insist on retracing the crooked courses of idealist thought in its decline and fall. There is nothing new in Priestley's unreal dilemma that the working class is not fit and the middle class is too lazy to reform the tory plutocracy that rules England. Nor in his typical answer to this problem which exists only in the bourgeois mind: namely, that after all the main line of progress runs through the consciousness itself. When Priestley says we should look inside ourselves for a solution to our problems, he means inside our dreams—". . . in our dreaming there is a clue, and a clue not only to our inward nature but also to the enduring nature of life itself. At the very moment when we seem to lose the real world we are beginning to find it." Such "world-mind" and "multi-dimensional time" metaphysics as

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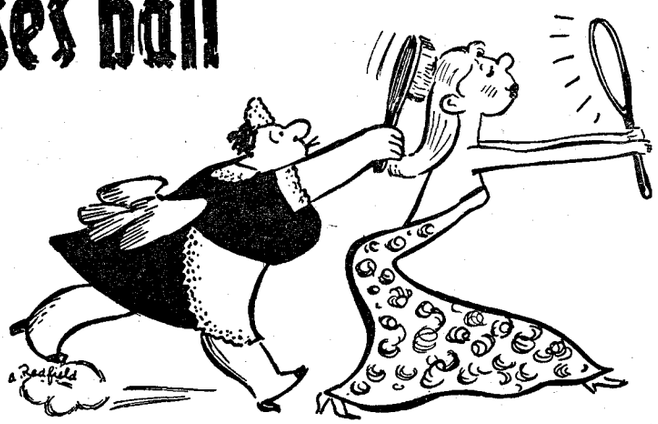

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Priestley can dredge out of his dreams can hardly prove an obstacle to the Chamberlain whose "detestable and dangerous" foreign policy Priestley condemns in this "chapter of autobiography."

B. H.

Book Notes

ONE of the less bloody but nevertheless appalling consequences of the outbreak of war in 1914 was the decline in literary standards. The best-sellers in 1914 were Gene Stratton-Porter's *Pollyanna* and Harold Bell Wright's *Eyes of the World*. In 1915 Pollyanna faced the competition of Mary Roberts Rinehart's *K* and Tarkington's *Turmoil*. It might be argued that the literary level before 1914, as reflected in the best-seller lists, was not much higher. That much is true. But the war intensified the demand for escapist fiction, and later on, for works like *Over the Top* and *Private Peat* which have happily been forgotten by another generation. America's entrance into the war hardly improved matters. . . . What will be the effect of the present war on the book business? The *Retail Bookseller* recently asked this question of a number of leading publishers and bookshop owners. The answers indicate a general belief that escape literature will be in greater demand. D. L. Chambers, president of Bobbs-Merrill, writes: "Where the mind is so oppressed by scareheads, the battering of the radio, by conflicting news of appalling disaster, it is natural for it to seek relief in a fictive world." Melvin Minton of Putnam's writes: "I shouldn't be surprised to see the reading public turn to the more romantic type of fiction," and the president of Farrar and Rinehart agrees with him. If these predictions are true, *The Grapes of Wrath* will be superseded by a 1939 version of *Pollyanna*. . . . What is alarming about the prediction is that publishers may be more than ever reluctant to invest in books that wander off the beaten path of the conventional rental library success. This would be a blow to authors and reading public alike. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether publishers, banking on the 1914 analogy, will do themselves a good turn by investing in fictional escapism. The popularity of *The Grapes of Wrath* coincided with a deepened consciousness of social issues on the part of the American reading public. Escapism will not satisfy its present mood. It is to be hoped that writers will resist the inevitable pressure to deal with "safe" subjects in a "safe" way. . . . Unfortunately, the fall publishing season, so far as fiction is concerned, gives no ground for boisterous enthusiasm. There are notable exceptions, of course, the most striking of which is Richard Wright's *Native Son*, scheduled for November 1 (Harper, $2.50). . . . The increasing threat to civil liberties in this country is of special concern to the book business. The threat cannot be fought by placing a premium on escapism.

S. S.

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Donald Duck versus the Milk Trust

The Odyssey of four city kids who went to the country with an old English shepherd's pipe, a 1929 Oldsmobile, and twenty-two puppets.

ONE night in the middle of August, in Canton, New York, a crowd of three hundred people were standing in the street near the largest milk refining plant in the world. The crowd carried picket signs; the men wore overalls, and the women cheap print dresses. They were striking dairy farmers on an all-night vigil in front of the Sheffield plant to prevent the delivery of smuggled milk. It was a happy picket line, gathered around a green platform where a puppet show was being presented. A puppet farmer was pampering his puppet cow. The cow, a wise animal, said to the farmer, "Say, after you do all this for me, how much do you get paid for *our* milk?" The crowd roared and nudged with big-boned elbows as the puzzled farmer tried to explain to the cow. A fat capitalist entered the argument. He was the Milk Trust. He rattled off a glib, involved explanation of milk classification.

Suddenly a yell came from the edge of the crowd, "Truck coming!" The farmers rushed away from the show and took their stations at the gate of the plant. The scab truck edged carefully up to the gates. There was a short, firm discussion and the truck backed slowly around and returned down the street.

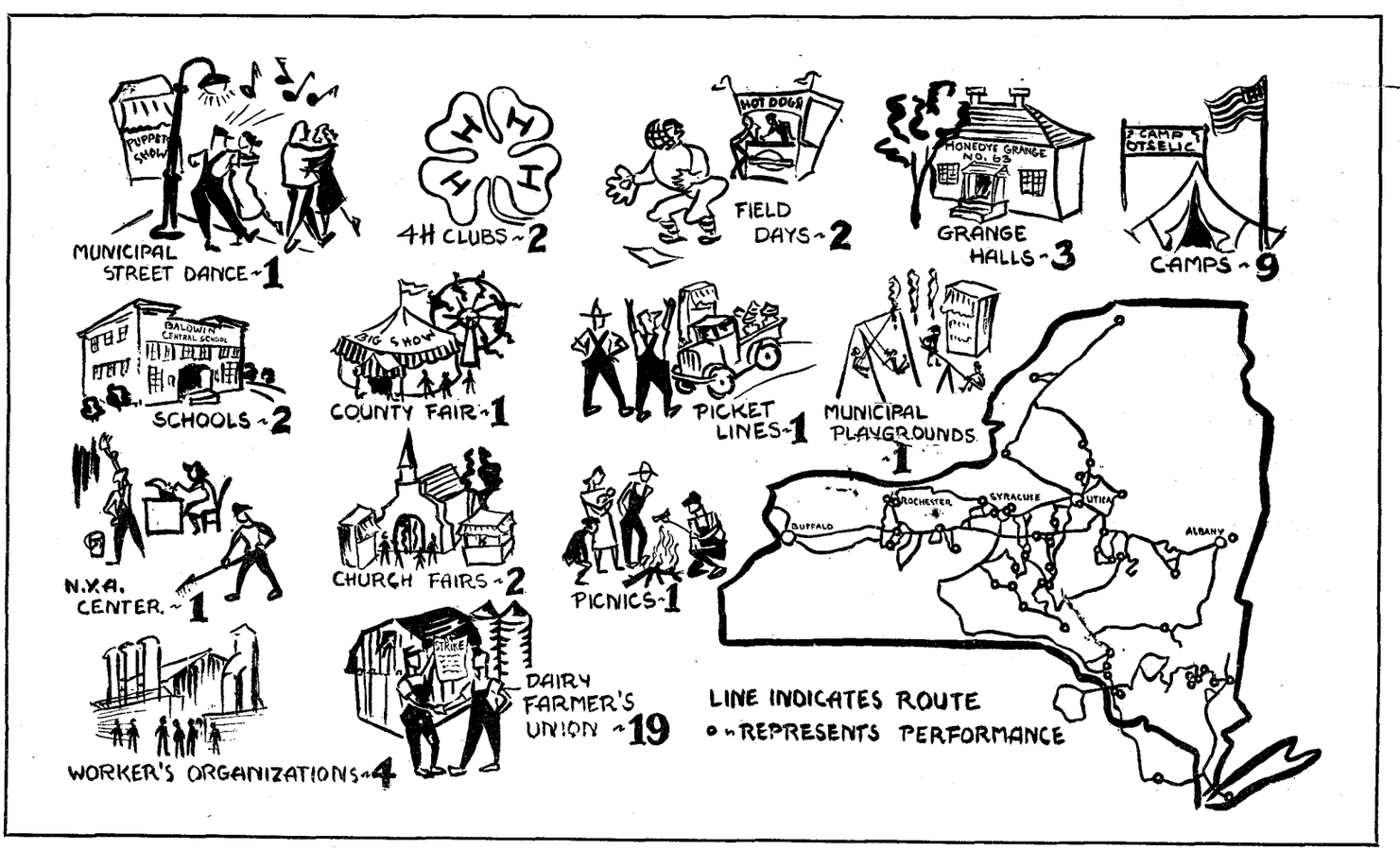
VAGABOND PUPPETEERS. *Mary Walton and some of the actors, above. Below, her drawing of the 4,500-mile itinerary of their summer spent among New York state farmers, and a pictorial tabulation of the audiences with number of shows indicated.*

The farmers came back to the puppets and the interrupted show started again at the beginning.

The cow confounded the capitalist, the farmer decided to strike and the drama ended with the farmer whacking the trust over the head to the ecstatic howls of the crowd. The young puppeteers took a bow and one of them passed a hat in the crowd. "Here comes another one!" came a yell, and the crowd rushed back to position. The collection was hopelessly crippled by the arrival of another load of milk; the hat held $1.80. But the entrepreneurs were happy, anyway.

The Vagabond Puppeteers are four New York kids who took their own show out to New York state farmers last summer, traveling in a 1929 Oldsmobile (donated), which sometimes had to be backed up hills without passengers. They played for church groups, granges, school children, milk strikers, county fairs, little theaters, townships, and once in a carnival sideshow, co-featured with the dog-faced boy, the woman who defies gravity, and the fire-eater, at a 10 percent cut of the gate. They made 83 cents.

Jerry Oberwager, twenty-two, a student of Beaux Arts; Mary Walton, twenty-two,



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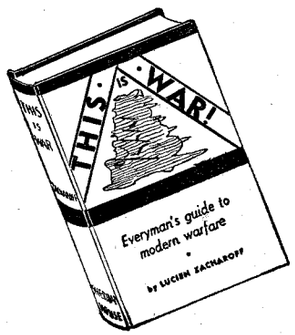

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a student at the American Artists' School; Harriet Holzman, twenty-three, of Long Island University; and Peter Seeger, twenty, of Harvard, were the troupe. All of the force worked the puppets, cooked, drove the wheezy vehicle, made their own bookings, and sang English and Southern folk songs to the accompaniment of Peter's recorder playing. The recorder is not a vulgar amplifying system, but an ancient English flute, with which Peter could set a whole crowd of farmers singing, "His Ol' Grey Beard A-Flabbin'," or "The Old Lady From Tennessee," as well as the contemporary progressive adaptation, "The Farmer Feeds Them All."

The farmers were never so surprised in their lives. They were amazed that city people understood their problems. After they saw a puppet Donald Duck as a persnickety graduate of Cornell School of Ag, trying to milk a cow only to have the udder come off in his hand, they said, "You hit the nail right on the head." Donald Duck was such a powerful draw that once he completely ruined a competing Bingo game at a church social. The Vagabonds played an upstate Chamber of Commerce picnic and captured a thousand people away from a crucial ball game.

The troupe started out from New York on July 10 in a caravel as uncertain as the one-hoss shay, with no bookings, homemade and borrowed equipment, and enough enterprise, adaptability, and pure ginger to carry Billy Sunday twice around the world. They came back to town September 24, brown as walnuts, with a $14 profit for the summer. Their total income had run less than $300. You don't get rich from passing the hat among striking dairy farmers and school kids.

They ran head-on into the milk strike a few weeks out; immediately the gang whipped up the Farmer-Trust drama described above. For the school kids they had a new Pinocchio variation in which poor Pinocchio, yearning to go to school, is told by a politician that there will be no school because taxes must be reduced. Thereupon simple Pinocchio falls in with some evil cronies and is framed up for stealing a purse. In court Pinocchio makes such a plea that the wicked politician is convicted on the spot, gets properly truncheoned on the head, and the schools reopen in a blaze of glory as the curtain closes.

The pastor of Christ Church in Cooperstown saw one of their bills and held them captive in the rectory for two days while he plotted a similar puppet group for his own young people. These were the first "unspoiled, unsophisticated city kids" he had ever seen. He couldn't get over it. The Vagabonds were released when they swore oaths to come back to Cooperstown Christmas Eve.

During the period when Dairy Farmers Union strike organizers were traveling around, pulling new groups of farmers out on strike, the Vagabonds were unbeatable. After their presentation of *Whose Headache Is It Now?* the Milk Trust drama, the union organizer would face the strike meeting, shrugging his shoulders in frustration. "There's nothing more to say. Do we strike or don't we?" The word would come back, "Strike!"

After a grange meeting farmers vied with each other to offer their hospitality to the troupers and the four were divided as widely as possible into the barns of the countryside and the enormous country meals. Next morning they would sortie off to the next town with a warm recommendation to the next grange or school board, and a back seat full of fresh vegetables. There were no formal bookings but the word spread in the countryside as effectively as if Dexter Fellowes had come through ahead, passing out cigars, passes, and blarney.

In the midst of the huge strike, the kids popped up in one strike meeting after another to put the clincher on the organizing activity. After such meetings farm leaders often asked them if it wasn't possible to send farm strikers into the city to talk to union meetings, and have the unions return speakers to tell the farmers how things were with them. The farmers have practically lost their traditional suspicion of city people; after they met the Vagabonds they immediately wanted to get in touch with more city people like these. Plans were broached by the farmers to have the kids come out next summer as a permanent part of union activity. The puppeteers played for nineteen strike meetings on their five thousand mile trip. After their first strike meeting at Smyrna, Chenango County, an excited agriculturist from a near-by town collared the troupe. He begged them to come on to his town. "By gosh, I'm going back and say you're O.K. with a capital O!" said he.

The Vagabond Puppeteers have arranged a performance for October 7 at the Youth Cultural Center, 106 East 14th St., to interest other young people in the idea. They will put on the show they gave for the milk strikers. Peter Seeger says, "If milk, why not coal, corn, or cotton?"

JAMES DUGAN.

Gunplays

Another "Nazi Spy" and a film on the Philippines.

THE worn formula for imperialist pictures is evident in Sam Goldwyn's *The Real Glory*—the trick of dividing the natives into a good and bad faction and having the U. S. Marines, the Royal North Surrey, the Foreign Legion, etc., intervening on the side of the good natives, to protect them, nourish civilization, etc.

Here it is the Philippines, 1906, with the village of Mysang being protected by Gary Cooper from the wicked Moros. A good deal of cunning in characterization, motivations, dialogue and atmosphere, lift the picture as diversion above the pure shooting gallery type of imperialist film. But when the slaughter gets under way, Goldwyn forgets the psychology and lets the Moros have it. The

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GOINGS ON

MR. W. C. HANDY, composer of the St. Louis Blues, will speak on Negro music, Friday, October 6th, 8:00 p.m. sharp at the Workers School, 35 East 12th Street. Admission 25c.

C. A. HATHAWAY, member National Committee Communist Party, editor Daily Worker, speaks on "The United States and the War in Europe," Sunday, October 8, at 8:30 p.m., Victoria Room, Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. Admission 25 cents. Auspices Workers School.

Moros have an exceedingly neat trick if you can do it; they bend down a supple tree, place a warrior in the top and spring him through the air into the stockade, where he crashes into stone walls, gets up, pulls his kriss and assaults the noble defenders. As the German anti-aircraft forces develop a stink-bomb counter-attack on the British leaflet raids, Mr. Hore-Belisha might look into this means of cracking the Limes line. I want him to fire Chamberlain over first without even an open umbrella to break the fall.

The Warners have delivered a piece, somewhat in the *Nazi Spy* inspiration, but built around the career boys in the State Department rather than the G-men. *Espionage Agent* is propaganda for alertness in counter-espionage, and eloquent, too. The movies have got a jump on the war theme. An independent producer has announced *Hitler, the Beast of Berlin,* which he says will not be hate-provoking propaganda. Lewis Milestone's masterpiece, *All Quiet on the Western Front,* has been reissued with a dreadful butchery of its dramatic value by the addition of a lot of newsreel clips and an excited "commentator." Metro is going to reissue *The Road Back,* which I put the blast on last year for its craven cuts made at the threat of the Nazis. Now the cuts are being put back in. There is no more Metro business in Germany.

A reader with a wide knowledge of contemporary French literature adds the information that it is true that Jean Giono, author of the movie, *Harvest,* denounced fascism in 1936, but in 1938 he was the leading faggot in the literary smudge fire that was used to cover up Munich. At this time the French Trotskyites put forth the slogan, *Plutot la servitude que la mort*—"Better slavery than death," which Giono echoed. Giono's affiliation with the Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists is about as profound as M. Andre Gide's, says my informant.

J. D.

"See My Lawyer"

A new George Abbott production at the Biltmore in New York.

"ROOM SERVICE" and some other George Abbott shows were better, but the new farce, *See My Lawyer,* is fast and funny enough. It's about three starving young lawyers who get a Tommy Manville-type millionaire as a client. Milton Berle of vaudeville and radio fame plays his first straight part, if you can call it that, in a disciplined and satisfactory manner. Eddie Nugent manages a nice, neat, underacted caricature of the screwy playboy. Teddy Hart does well as a seedy shyster.

The plot makes it necessary to mention the helplessness of the average poor young lawyer waiting for clients, but authors Richard Maibaum and Harry Clork can't allow the subject to take up lines they must put to other purposes. How can he get work? "He can sue himself for vagrancy."

C. J.

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